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## CONTENTS

“THE JEWISH CEMETERY” BY JACOB VAN RUIS-  
DAEL · BY JACOB ROSENBERG Page 37

RENOIR · BY HENRI HERTZ Page 44

SOME LATE SPANISH ROMANESQUE SCULPTURES  
BY AUGUST L. MAYER Page 56

AN UNKNOWN STATUETTE OF THE MADONNA BY  
NICCOLO PISANO · BY W. R. VALENTINER Page 60

THE PRINCETON RAPHAEL · BY FRANK JEWETT  
MATHER, JR. Page 73

W. GEDNEY BUNCE · BY FREDERIC FAIRCHILD  
SHERMAN Page 80

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FIG. 1. JACOB RUYSDAEL: THE CEMETERY  
*In private possession, Detroit, Mich.*



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AN ILLUSTRATED BI-MONTHLY MAGAZINE  
VOLUME XIV · NUMBER II · FEBRUARY 1926



“THE JEWISH CEMETERY” BY JACOB VAN RUISDAEL

By JACOB ROSENBERG

A SECOND larger, and somewhat different conception of the well known “Jewish Cemetery” by Ruisdael in the Dresden Gallery (Fig. 2) has lately come to light. This painting, with which Smith<sup>1</sup> was familiar, and of which all trace was subsequently lost for a long time, came to light again last August in the exhibition of old Masters from Berlin Collections arranged by the Kaiser Friedrich Museum Association. Its reproduction here (Fig. 1) and the accompanying remarks, may serve to reinstate it in the literature of art history, and assign to it a fitting place among Ruisdael’s works.

Goethe has described the Dresden picture in memorable fashion in his essay “Ruisdael as a Poet.”<sup>2</sup> “The third picture on the contrary (he has heretofore discussed two other Ruisdaels in the same gallery)

<sup>1</sup> Smith Catalogue raisonne, VI, 60. In Smith’s day (1835) this painting was a part of the Mackintosh Collection. He traced its provenance back to an Amsterdam auction in the year 1770.

<sup>2</sup> Published in “Morgenblatt für Gebildete Stünde,” May 3, 1816.

*Translated by Alice M. Sharkey*

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is dedicated to the past alone, and makes no concession to this earthly life. It is known to us as 'The Cemetery,' and this indeed it is. These graves, in their ruined state, do more than symbolize the past. They are the very tombs themselves." With these introductory words Goethe sounds the note which dominates this composition.

It is not merely a cemetery, interesting on account of its unusual tombstones and picturesque situation, but the "burying ground" used as a far-reaching symbol of the impermanence of all earthly things. The masterliness of Ruisdael's composition lies precisely in his clear and concentrated presentation of this idea. Across the foreground the eye is focussed on the principal theme—the three graves in the middle distance. The foremost of the three occupies the center of the canvas, and on it the lighting, too, is centralized. All secondary themes, including the dim, dark-green foliage masses of the background, serve but as foils or accessories to this main motif. All significance which these subordinate forms possess serves but to underline the central pictorial theme. Thus, the barren beech tree in the right foreground gestures more clearly than could any lay figure towards these significant graves, as does the shattered, ghostly ruin in the background of which Goethe says "it is near to dissolution." No less significant are the gloomy clouds where one streak of light alone, just adequately illumines the scene.

When we turn to the newly discovered painting we find, despite striking similarities in the individual motifs (the three graves are identical) and strong general accords in composition, color and lighting, this undivided concentration of motive to be lacking. The three graves are closer to the observer, the foremost similarly accented by a strong light. They are moved further to one side, however, and lie partly in the shade of a wide crown of foliage which overspreads them. The barren beech tree is there, but its startlingly significant gesture toward the tombs is lacking, and its bareness has been mitigated. Some signs of growth and color are still discernible and it leans towards the foliage shading the graves as if it still sought a place in the world of living things. Herein, precisely, lies the chief difference between the two paintings. In this one the luxuriance of nature, its sap and growth have not been completely subordinated to the motif of the tombs, but flourish and bloom with a wild freedom side by side with these symbols of the past.

The ruined church rearing itself steeply against the sky in the middle-





FIG. 3. JACOB RUISDAEL: DRAWING  
*Teyler Institute, Haarlem*



FIG. 2. JACOB RUISDAEL: THE JEWISH CEMETERY  
*The Dresden Gallery*





ground forms a second strongly accented note. It stands there illumined in dual fashion — the tower a light copper red, the nave a dimmer greyish yellow — still massive, firm and upstanding in its decay. Like the rest of the cemetery it has been seized and overrun by nature's growth. Soft foliage masses wreath its walls and it seems as if in the low protected building in the centre human life might yet find shelter.

Ruisdael has here, by this intermingling of the living with the dead, achieved a more disquieting, more fortuitous effect, both in conception and composition than in the sterner, more forbidding Dresden picture. A wealth of detail, at times powerfully plastic in form, captures the attention to a certain extent. (The stem of the beech tree on the right is a splendid example of this.) It is held together, with perceptible effort, by the color and lighting of the whole and by the welding of the interplay of form in the foreground and background into one powerful composite silhouette. A peculiar dark-blue tone — approaching steel-blue — over-spreads the canvas striking the characteristic chord of Ruisdael's melancholy art. In this wide, dark expanse the light is dramatically intensified in two places (in the Dresden painting only in one), in the luminous cloud on the right above the ruined tower, and far below on the white headstone of the foremost of the three graves. For the rest, the light flickers faintly over the whole canvas, particularly on the right, in trembling little reflections, as if a strict concentration on the tombs, as in the Dresden picture, could hardly be endured here where nature still holds sway. On the left and darker side of the canvas only the rainbow which spans the rounding, overgrown hillock in the background is more strongly lighted. (In the Dresden picture this is less emphasized.) It seems to be the moment of an atmospheric change — of rolling clouds. The storm is passing over and light approaches, striving to break from captivity behind thick banks of clouds.

By comparing the conception and execution of these two paintings we may deduce their chronological sequence among Ruisdael's works. The newly-discovered canvas is obviously the earlier of the two. It is more luxuriant; its forms more natural, more readily grasped; its color stronger and somewhat brighter; the brushwork firmer and moister; the conception younger and full of a surplus energy. The Dresden picture is bleaker and betrays a classic concentration. Its structure is stronger and simpler and the underlying thought is presented with a deliberate clarity. The artist's perspective is greater; the general tone of the canvas approaches a neutral grey-green; the brushwork is a little

lighter, more accented. These are all traits pointing to a more highly-developed technique. Take for instance the manner in which the two canvases are filled. In the earlier painting we have luxuriant forms whose powerful silhouette stretches to the top of the canvas. The later picture shows no such vehement embodiment. There is space between the topmost branches and the edge of the canvas and the composition is placed in more measured fashion in its frame. All the characteristics noted in the newer "Jewish Cemetery" suggest that its date of origin was the fifties — probably towards the end of that decade — while the Dresden painting belongs to the sixties.

Fromentin, who speaks of Ruisdael with warm appreciation in his "*Maîtres d'autrefois*," brings up, at the end of his essay, the question of this master's personal fate. He says that, with the exception of Rembrandt (and curiously enough he also included Potter in this category), the work of no other Dutch master arouses so keen an interest in his personality. As a matter of fact, the man within the artist is, in Ruisdael's case, of peculiar importance, and we scan his paintings with an added interest hoping to glean from them something of his attitude to life and of his personal fortunes. The "Jewish Cemetery" perhaps offers precisely the one instance where this attitude to life lies unveiled before the observer.

The transitory nature of earthly things is emphasized here in so personal and persistent a manner that one feels more than a fortuitous or romantic flight of imagination, or the expression of a current trend of thought, must lie at the root of the painting. Only a soul that had felt the tragic blows of circumstance, a mind penetrated with fatalism, could feel and illustrate with such sorrow, such concentration, the impermanence of earthly things. Do not overlook, however, that this conviction is ennobled by the splendid artistry of its presentation — that it is borne with a dignity and heroism. Ruisdael's mood should never be confused with that easy and sentimental melancholy which is so prevalent. This mood does not speak so clearly from the new and earlier conception of the "Jewish Cemetery." The note is already sounded, but it is still mingled with other harmonies.

Studies exist for individual portions of both these canvases. There is an accurate study for the group of the three graves in the Teyler Institute in Haarlem (Fig. 3), which was later (in 1670) engraved by A. Blooteling.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The companion drawing, likewise engraved by Blooteling, shows a view of these same graves from the opposite side.



These graves still exist in the old Jewish cemetery at Ouderkerk<sup>4</sup> near Amsterdam, and one can verify on the very spot the accuracy of Ruisdael's delineation. There exists, too, a study of the ruined church in the background of the Dresden picture—also obviously drawn from nature—in the Huldshinsky Collection, Berlin. (A deceptive copy of this drawing which for a long time was believed to be the original is in the Berlin Printroom.) It probably depicts part of the great ruin of Egmont which today no longer exists, and which Ruisdael drew from many different aspects. (See studies in the Printroom in Amsterdam, in the Hofstede de Groot Collection, Hague, and in the Bremen Gallery.) It is entirely probable that studies for the ruin in the newer "Jewish Cemetery," made from nature, are in existence. In its final form, this ruin is a product of the artist's imagination, in its architectural details, however, we recognize portions from a study, which so resembles the ruin that one may assume a common natural source for the two. This same tower appears in one of the two large drawings of ruins in the Amsterdam Cabinet which bear the old inscription: "Egmond op den Hoof." The lower left hand portion of the ruin reappears in a picture formerly in the Wesendonck Collection, and now owned by Dr. Lachmann Mosse of Berlin. These various studies prove how much Ruisdael relied—even in so romantic and imaginative a composition—on accurate and realistic nature studies for his detail. It is characteristic of his type of romanticism that it stands with feet planted firmly in an accurate observation of nature. His was not an imagination which soared above realities as did the vision of a Rembrandt or a Rubens.

None the less, there is something compelling in this newly-found "Jewish Cemetery." One feels the artist's inner urge—his striving for the heroic manner. A similar aspiration is noticeable in the work of the great French landscape artists of that century—Claude and Poussin—only in their case the goal seemed less difficult of attainment.

<sup>4</sup> The Ouderkerk Cemetery, situated some miles to the southeast of Amsterdam, was consecrated in the year 1614. The graves which appear in the painting are among the oldest there. Dr. Montalto is buried in the foremost of the three which is of white marble. The date of burial on the headstone, which is still standing, is 1615. The Hebraic inscription states, among other things, that he was physician to the French King, Henry IV. Chacham Usiel, from Fez in Morocco, Head Rabbi of Amsterdam, is buried in the middle grave. This is of dark grey marble and has a stair-like substructure and a drapery carved on the sarcophagus. Abraham Rael Mendes, who died in 1627, lies in the third grave on the right, which is built of white marble as in the painting. Mr. Zwarts, Keeper of Archives in Utrecht, assured me that the graves were still preserved in their original form.

In 1880 when the cemetery was restored the work was carried out with the utmost discretion. Everything was left in place, isolated monuments were braced and breaks in the masonry reinforced. The Custodian of the Cemetery, Mr. Adam Querido, was kind enough to explain everything to me in detail, for which courtesy I wish here to express my hearty thanks.

These masters, dowered with an innate feeling for romantic forms, adapted nature more readily to their pictorial purposes, from the very fact that its rich forms appealed to them in a less definitely individual fashion than they did to Ruisdael. For him the problem of achieving unity of composition for the whole was therefore all the harder and he struggled with this problem with all the strength and depth of his northern nature. The dimensions alone of this picture are evidence of the intensity of his aim. It is the largest of his known paintings, measuring 135 x 202 centimeters. The Dresden painting is of decidedly more modest proportions (84 x 95 centimeters), and in this respect, too, lies nearer to the classic conception.

## RENOIR

BY HENRI HERTZ

WE have already seen the powerful attraction exercised by impressionism on artists of the most diverse temperaments, of totally different traditions, and occasionally of personal gifts which seemed inimic rather than complementary, to the liberties and charms with which impressionism was to inspire them. None the less they have been captivated, if not enslaved. They owe much to impressionism—it owes much to them. They have extended its boundaries and enriched it by unexpected aspects.

The admirable gauge of a Degas, harmonizing the tradition of Ingres, the integrity and purity of line with the discovery of vibrant color is so surprising a phenomenon that even today many critics refuse to admit it and quite unjustly place this great master outside of that current on which he imposed, against all versimilitude, the rhythm and regularity of the most exact design. The sombre and rebellious spirit of a Van Gogh, eternally dedicated it would seem to the dark clouds of the Borinage, to dolorous evocations of northern tristesse, is suddenly lightened on contact with the impressionist ideal. Exalted by the sunshine of Arles, he depicts, without losing anything of his tragic accent, with a sort of intoxication, and in weighty and radiant masses, the

*Translated by Alice M. Sharkey*





RENOIR: YOUNG GIRLS AT THE PIANO  
*Collection of Mr. Adolph Lewisohn, New York*





horizons and landscapes, the face of nature and of man. In what obscure retreats would the mysterious spirit of Odilon Redon have sheltered itself — painter of the most enigmatic echoes of ultimate thought — had he not been surrounded by the ardent appeal of a pictorial life which everywhere called to him? Though far removed from sensual enjoyment of color, he felt its force — it filtered into his thoughts and he carried its warm influence to that ghostly domain where material things reduced to their symbols and essence approach the fabric of dreams and may scarcely be translated for the eye.

Monet, finally, whose haughty and imperious passion for the splendors of human beauty, and robust insistence on seizing this splendor in its most familiar expressions of happiness, of pleasure, of reflexion, and of distress, related instinctively to the Spaniards in his viewpoint, drew from the new school with which he associated himself a freedom of composition, an elasticity of vision, and a sense of plastic modulation which contributed in no small measure to make his achievement one of the most notable of modern times. And now after the tradition of Ingres, the Flemish tradition, after mysticism, after the Spanish tradition, the tradition of the eighteenth century arrives to rally itself to impressionism through Renoir.

The affinity of Renoir for the painters of the eighteenth century is striking even as regards his life and character. His vocation as a painter was not determined by an acquaintance with the great masters of painting or by the driving urge of culture. There was much less intellectual concentration and anxious striving in his development than in that of the most modern painters, who have so often been forced to clip their wings, before daring to enfranchise themselves from some quite other destiny, and to overcome prejudices and inhibitions derived from their education. Renoir knew little of these hidden strivings and arduous intellectual preparation. He progressed quite naturally — as we often note among the ancients — from the “minor” to the “major” arts, and in a gallant impulsion exempt from all abstract bitterness, the artisan developed into the artist.

He was born in Limoges on February 25, 1841, the son of a tailor. Following an ambition common to many artisans’ sons of this town he wished to become a painter of porcelain. His dream was to enter the factory of Sevres and doubtless he would have done so had not a catastrophe, which we cannot but regard as providential, overtaken his chosen profession. The new discoveries connected with the mechanical

coloring of porcelain emptied the ateliers and condemned hand painting to the scrap heap. Apprentices were everywhere discharged and Renoir was compelled to seek some other avenue. From painter on porcelain he became a painter of window blinds and manipulated flat color before drawing from it the radiations of the artist. In this fashion he familiarized himself with it, accustomed himself to live for it and to tame it to his uses. Renoir cherished no irritation towards these humble origins. This kindred artisanship seemed to him to have been of good augury, and he came even to congratulate himself on it. He was for the rest, so constituted in soul and body as to find it normal and just that the artist should take stock of himself without vanity or haste, in some *métier* fitted to shape at leisure his fingers, his eyes and his thoughts. In this he resembled those modest and debonaire masters of old, several of whom arrived at an eminence of which they were completely unconscious till it was pointed out to them.

It was not, however, through painting window blinds that this hardy youth could hope to make progress and test his talent, and he set about painting figures. As soon as he could he began to frequent a studio — which happened to be that of Gleyre. He was then twenty years old, and it was here that his first encounter with impressionism took place, in the persons of Sisley and Claude Monet.

Do not believe for a minute, however, that any shattering idea of a particular school occupied Renoir at this moment. If that idea was germinating in any brain, it certainly was not his. True, he was of an independent temperament, but in the manner of an older day, that is without doctrinal preoccupations or the brooding group spirit.

He stood for himself alone, with an avid and tireless appetite for work which knew neither fatigue nor discouragement, and recked little of introspective subtleties. For him there was only one preoccupation — to paint. That was his function in the same sort as were eating and drinking. He painted according to his temperament in which he put his trust. Formulas and classifications could come later if they had to, and it was no part of his task to worry about them in advance.

In fact, from this time on, the life of Renoir is but the long and tireless labor of a man who from one end of the year to the other, from morning until evening, stands at his easel portraying the life around him. Magnificent in his simplicity and constancy, jovial and ardent, seeking to bring nature and things natural freely into his work, calm, his verve and his curiosity never failed him, nor were they arrested by





RENOIR: THE CANOERS  
*Collection of Mr. Adolph Levinson, New York*





sorrowful spiritual experiences, nor darkened by sudden inquietudes.

One recognizes in these traits his spiritual kinship to the eighteenth century painters — so simple, so rich, attached, as has been said, to their painting as the laborer is attached to the earth.

Renoir's long life was practically devoid of adventure and of vicissitudes. He may be said to have painted his daily life. His principal models were those at his hand — his wife, his children and his servants, whom he treated as members of the family.

Under these conditions it is easy to realize that if, as we shall see, he passed through different phases which, little by little, united the eighteenth century tradition which was inherent in him with impressionism, this evolution took place without disturbance. He accomplished it by swimming vigorously in the current of his time, and through the power of suggestion. In doing so he took no sides. He followed the impulse of his nature — always eagerly receptive to all that might broaden the horizons of his work, and renew his enjoyment of subjects already painted by him, and which he asked nothing better than to paint again, enriching them by the added powers of his method.

Renoir possessed the fecundity of the eighteenth century masters. Degas and Monet, too, one recalls, were prolific workers. But theirs was not the pressing, instinctive, one might also say rustic urge for production that characterized the artists of the preceding century and later Renoir. Degas was continually occupied by reflective research, Monet by the task of achieving a palette of a strained and fierce voluptuousness. These preoccupations involved a constant mental tension. Renoir, on the contrary, was gifted with a calm and constant application. Objects pleasing to his eye were placed before his easel, much in the same manner as one sits down to a good meal! In this fashion his hundreds of pictures were painted.

He, like the other impressionists, suffered vicissitudes at the hands of the public and of the official judges. He did not seek to temper his originality, but presented his manner of seeing and feeling without modification and with a touch that was often crude and brutal. He shocked the current sentimentality of outlook, and undoubtedly the rebuffs which he, like Monet, experienced, rallied him more decisively to the standard of the innovators, but with no show of bitterness or aggression, and this trend seemed to him more likely an inevitable result of his frugal habits and his natural outspokenness. None the less, once engaged in this direction, he dedicated his vigor and geniality with

boundless generosity, and when necessary, with an ingeniousness touched with malice.

His sojourn in Gleyre's studio lasted scarcely two years, 1861-1862. Let us glance at his formidable and rapid accomplishment, and the events which precipitated themselves once this starting point was left behind. In 1863 his painting of a "Nude woman on a bed, attended by a Dwarf" was refused by the Salon. In 1864 "Esmeralda Dancing" was accepted. These canvases are, I believe, his only two "subject" paintings and were made while he was still under the influence of romanticism and of Delacroix. He later destroyed them himself. Thereafter he became the servant of those subjects which lay directly beneath his eyes, and which seemed to him finer than any inventions.

From 1864 to 1874 he alternated, according to a custom that remained dear to him, the painting of people and landscapes — sometimes individually, sometimes using the last named as a background for the first, and accentuating the resonance of his color with a certain exotic pomp reminiscent of Delacroix.

The "Summer Evening," 1865, and "Lise," 1868, are intimate in character. In 1870, however, he painted "The Algerian Woman," and in 1872 "Parisiennes in Algerian Costume." In 1874 he took part in the first demonstration of the Independents, at Nadar's, where he was represented by "The Loge" which today is famous. From that time on his productivity was accelerated, and remained undiminished in impetus and rapidity until his ninetieth year.

In 1876 — eighteen paintings.

In 1877 — three celebrated canvases — "The Swing," "The Ball at Montmartre" and "The Windmill of La Galette." At this period he began to be bought at the sales he organized with Monet, Sisley and Berthe Morriessot in 1875; and with Pissaro, Sisley and Caillebotte in 1877. Twenty of his canvases were sold in 1875, and brought in, in round figures about 2,150 francs, among them "Before the Bath," for 140 francs; and the "View of the Pont Neuf," for 300 francs. In 1877 he sold sixteen paintings. There is progress here for the sixteen netted 2,005 francs!

The former painter of porcelains and of window blinds is not rich. He has the responsibility of a family and keeps open house. It is not enough to paint for painting's sake. He must paint to live.

Portrait commissions began to appear. In 1876 he exhibited seven portraits. Of these, however, six brought him no returns. Two were



self portraits, three of his wife, and one of a daughter whom he had just lost. However, there was the portrait of Mr. Chocquet, who, having been his patron remained his friend, as he was the friend of Cezanne.

Then came the era of great portraits and great reputation. A time of special beauty and luxuriance when his talent had lost nothing of its first fresh vigor and his work was completely free and spontaneous without the least concession to his sitters. The portrait of the editor, G. Charpentier; that of his wife; that of Madame Charpentier and her children; Jeanne Samay; Mdlle. Berard — these all were to be seen in the Salon of 1879. The Berards possess, moreover, ten similar portraits.

In 1880 a great flowering in his portrayals of the out-of-doors, at Berneval, where "The Mussel Gatherers" was painted, and "Young Girls Asleep on the Beach."

In 1881-1882-1883. Portraits. How many? Renoir when questioned later could not remember the exact number. But that is not all. In 1882 the Exhibition of the Independents took place at the Nouveau Cirque, Rue St. Honore and included twenty-five canvases by Renoir, among them the celebrated "Canotiers."

In 1883 at Durand-Ruel's then established at 9 Boulevard de la Madeleine, he showed seventy canvases, including the "Dancers at Bougival," Scenes at Venice, Naples and Algiers, the "Seated Woman," the "Negress," Algiers, and a portrait of Richard Wagner, whom Renoir met in Italy and who consented to pose for him for just half an hour. These are all dated 1882-1883. Why mention more? To give all the titles would be impossible. Renoir ran the risk of exhausting those who caught his eye, turning them this way and that in successive poses. His genial enthusiasm, however, won everybody, and made them docile victims of his gigantic appetite for painting.

This brilliant, sumptuous, and apparently facile succession of works and masterpieces must now be more closely examined if we are to recognize the reversals and varied phases through which Renoir's handling of color merged into impressionism to triumph there.

At the outset we must guard against a misapprehension. It must not be assumed because he worked so prolifically, without interruption, and with a promptitude and regularity which seemed exempt from difficulty, that his development was altogether devoid of those secret torments common to painters of his era, and which are so touchingly revealed in some cases.

If impressionism is penetrated with a light joyousness, with mobility and caprice, this does not signify that no hard fight for liberty has been waged by those painters seduced by it who have wished to become the interpreters of its charms. Its flexible and nonchalant gifts elude those who, believing them easy of attainment, approach them lightly. One can but affirm of Renoir that he plunged so naturally into the eddies of life and art, entering, through this medium, in direct daily collaboration, that one senses in his work less a concerted change proceeding directly from the will, than a natural phenomenon, a necessary metamorphosis in his painting, of which he was at once the involuntary instrument and the master—almost as the Olympian Gods of old both commanded and obeyed the elements.

The first traces of the new theory of color make themselves felt from 1872 onward. In his "Parisiennes in Algerian Costume" one notes the vivid color which serves to translate the shadows. His canvases painted in 1877 are bathed in a violet atmosphere, in singular contrast to those of the preceding period, notably to the "Lise." None the less he is not yet divorced from a smooth composition, related precisely to that of the eighteenth century painters; to Boucher, Natoire, Fragonard and Greuze, and even to the English school of Gainsborough and Reynolds who were still more meticulous in their smooth application of color. Renoir made use of the palette knife. If he seeks for an effect of light on light, it is, to be exact, less through any subtlety of his palette than by gradations of transparencies and opacities cleverly handled, by the ephemerality or the emphasis of the design, in the Japanese manner, briefly, it has less to do with the quality than the quantity of the paint.

After 1874, however, the celebrated year of the Salon of the Independents, a second phase is readily discernible. His landscapes, worthy to take their place beside those of Monet, are plunged frankly in fairy like mirages, due to the disintegration of the values, to the rupture of the brush strokes and to the judicious use of "hachures." In painting his impressive series of views and landscapes of Paris he completely abandoned a unity of color giving the impression of enamel, substituting disassociated tones and troubled harmonies.

In his fever of research and of conquest he touched many styles. His impulsive and loyal inspiration in nowise seeks to dissimulate this. The vigor gained by his art where impressionism now breathed and flourished, buffets it against many horizons. He painted "The Road to Louveciennes" in Corot's vaporous manner; the "Woman with the



Broken Necklace" in the restrained and angular note of Monet. His "Young Girl Promenading" reverts towards Gainsborough and Fragonard; his "Young Girl with the Panniers" towards Greuze, but in a manner so free, and despite everything so novel that this last named canvas has been described as an "impressionist Greuze."

Renoir's impressionism never hardened into rigid formulas. It was during this period, that is from 1874 to 1880, that its culminating point was reached, and he navigated, it is easy to see, in many different currents. Later he traversed a "flamboyant" period during which, ever more eager to extract still unknown treasures from color, he audaciously essayed discordant harmonies, dissonances, and "false values" in his passion of curiosity and of research. He had made admirable use of the "cameo" blue of Bloucher and Natoire, of the Fragonard pinks, the so-called "Thigh of a Frightened Nymph"; he did not hold these in disdain, but he added to them unusual tints—citron and a sharp green and lent a sudden emphasis to pale color schemes by the degrading of crude tones. By the use of golden yellow he achieved an effect of sadness; of sweetness by vermilion; of gaiety by grey—of stability by blue.

There is a fourth period in his life—the final one. His impressionism slackened and he returned to uniform brush work. He continued to "modulate," but the modulation once accomplished, he unified it. He painted on coarse canvases heads where the hair appeared as a single mass and of a single color, and many of his pictures took on a somewhat opaque aspect—a lustre as of agate.

Armed with so great a technique, moulded and perfected in all possible combinations during a period of seventy years Renoir traversed one might say all the boundaries of impressionism and reflected all of its characteristics—those of the past and those of the future. Solid impasto—accumulation of little strokes and minute tonalities—alternation of transparencies and opacities, the association of the palette knife with the Japanese brush—the superimposing of white on white—the false, thereby to attain nearer to the truth—he used them all. He achieved, particularly in his nudes, luminous, floral, fleshly effect, which is neither the academic nude, nor, strictly speaking, realistic. It is related to Fragonard, but also to Gauguin.

It is the greatest feast of color that impressionism has drawn from the bodies, the trees, the landscapes of France—a feast so warm that it achieves sometimes, beneath our fogs, a primitive savor of the Orient.

## SOME LATE SPANISH ROMANESQUE SCULPTURES

BY AUGUST L. MAYER

THE Metropolitan Museum of New York owns a very strange Hone "relief" which came from the Church of St. Leonard at Zamora in Spain. It represents a fantastic group (Fig. 1) in the foreground a kind of a lion standing over a serpent. Behind we see in small figures the coronation of the Virgin with an angel, which could also be explained as the angel of the Annunciation, and Christ in the Limbo. The decorative coronation of this ensemble is in its general forms not uncommon in the late Romanesque art, but the convex outlines have a certain remembrance to moresque art. The two consol figures are the less characteristic of all details.

This work is generally considered as a work of the twelfth century. It is very interesting to follow the conclusions of two very serious American students of Spanish mediaeval art, Mr. A. Kingsley Porter and Mr. Walter W. S. Cook. Mr. Porter betrays always the inclination to date all Spanish Romanesque sculpture very early, while Mr. Cook inclines on the contrary to a rather late date for many important works. Mr. Porter did not mention the New York sculpture in his important publication on "Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads" and the opinion of Mr. Cook is also unknown to me in this case, but from the conclusions reached by Mr. Porter one may possibly be inclined to date this work in the twelfth century, while from those reached by Mr. Cook one would perhaps place it late in the thirteenth century. The truth seems to lie between these two dates.

There exists in the "clauastro" of the Leon Cathedral a very curious decoration of a tomb, which seems to me closely connected with the sculpture in the Metropolitan Museum.

It represents the archilevita, Johannes Petri, who died in 1256, kneeling before the Holy Virgin (Fig. 2). Even if we assume that the Leon sculpture was executed in the lifetime of Johannes Petri we are surprised by the conservative archaic character of this work.

Especially if we compare the drapery of the Virgin, and particularly the folds beyond the Christ Child with that of the Christ of the Zamora piece, we notice a great resemblance. I do not intend to say that both pieces are by the same master, but do wish to emphasize, that both are executed in a peculiar archaic provincial style and that the approximate date of the Leon example induces me to presume that the example in





FIG. 2. TOMB OF JOHANNES PETRI  
*Leon Cathedral*



FIG. 1. RELIEF FROM CHURCH OF ST. LEONARD, ZAMORA  
*The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*





the Metropolitan Museum is very probably not much earlier than 1250.

Finally, we have another example of the very conservative character of the Spanish Romanesque sculpture in northwestern Castilla. In the time when French architects and sculptors worked on the Cathedral of Burgos we find at the Cathedral of Ciudad Rodrigo Spanish artists, who still follow the style of Master Matteo, the genial artist of the Portico a la Gloria at Santiago de Compostela. But, of course the late sculptor at Ciudad Rodrigo did not understand very well the pure Romanesque language of the master of the twelfth century.

## AN UNKNOWN STATUETTE OF THE MADONNA BY NICCOLO PISANO

BY W. R. VALENTINER

IT is not easy to designate Niccolo Pisano's place in the history of art. We may admit that he was "the first great master of pronounced individuality—not only in Italy, but in Europe—since the days of classical art" (Chandler R. Post); but how shall we classify this individuality in the history of the development of style in Europe? To align him with the Gothic, as has been done frequently, is hardly possible. What then becomes of the gulf between him and his son, Giovanni, who consciously strove towards the resolving of bodily forms into flowing line, whose architectural detail, furthermore, was completely Gothic in aspect, and who, in contrast to Niccolo, is considered to be the first definite exponent of this style in Italian sculpture. On the other hand Niccolo Pisano is too much isolated from the development of European art in the views expressed by Jacob Burckhardt in the "Cicerone." According to Burckhardt he represents a premature and consequently short-lived Renaissance in Italy. This idea is clearly a development of views held by Renaissance Italians, Ghiberti and Vasari, for instance, of their idea of a renewal of art expression which, according to them, took place in the period of Niccolo about 1250 and developed thereafter until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This opinion, which today is still general, takes account, however, only of connecting links as far as Italian art is concerned, and does not apply to a general European development.

In mid-thirteenth century sculpture, north of the Alps, a classical tendency is discernible also—in a few of the French sculptures from Rheims for example and in some of the German sculptures from Bamberg. This was the culminating point of early medieval sculpture when it had attained to such purity of forms that a tendency toward the antique was inevitable. In France we find this sculpture in early Gothic buildings, in Germany at the same time in the buildings of the so-called "Transition Style." This expression, which characterizes the transition from the Romanesque to the Gothic style, easily arouses a false impression that one is dealing with a period of uncertain change, whereas, in reality, the architecture of this "Transition Style" is the

*Translated by A. M. Sharkey*



culminating point of the northern medieval builders' art. It is as though the first hints of the coming Gothic had spurred the masters of the Romanesque style in Germanic countries to extraordinary achievement.

If we study the architectural detail of Niccolo's two pulpits in Pisa and Siena we will find that all the forms are related to those of the northern "Transition Style": the trefoils set in curves between the pillars; the heavy profiles and mouldings; the deeply cut gables with tri-form rounded openings in the centre, like those of the temple in the background of the "Presentation in the Temple" from the Siena pulpit (Fig. 3)—a typical structure of the "Transition Style." Giovanni replaced these forms by pointed arches and a lighter silhouette—typically Gothic forms. As regards his figures, too, there is little trace of the Gothic style to be found in Niccolo's work. It is clear that all these types of his, in their massive appearance, their firm positions, their short, sturdy proportions, are definitely related to the Romanesque sculpture of northern Italy and are, in fact, a development of it.

North Italian sculpture, like that of Germany, with which it developed in close relationship and along parallel lines, retained its Romanesque character much longer than did that of France. Its last and greatest achievement was in the art of Niccolo Pisano, in whose work a remarkable individuality and an antique note are blended. The fact that Niccolo came from Apulia and brought his technical equipment with him from the South, and that he may have drawn his inspiration from the renewal of the antique spirit there under the Hohenstaufen may well stand. But his broad forms, the powerful individualization of his figures could only have emanated from the reflective, intense, if somewhat clumsy spirit of northern Romanesque sculpture, and the more familiar we become with the north Italian sculpture of the twelfth and early thirteenth century the clearer it seems that Niccolo Pisano both belonged to it and developed it. The gulf between him and his predecessors is less deep than that between him and his son Giovanni—although one cannot envisage Giovanni without the bridge of his father's art.

Niccolo's art, therefore, is both a *Beginning* and an *End*—but more definitely an *End*—and that on a remarkable eminence to which he was led by Romanesque art. It is this position which gives rise to a certain lack of uniformity in his art which we, frankly, only become aware of on comparing him with the less complex personality, cast

from a single mould, of his son Giovanni. Arnolfo di Cambio, who was but little younger than Niccolo Pisano, his master in the art of sculpture and in many respects akin to him, is another representative of the older, late Romanesque style. While he introduced the Gothic style into his architectural forms, his sculpture expresses perfectly the weightiness of the "Transition Style," and the grandiose dignity of his figures typifies the early medieval spirit at its best.

The following remarks will serve to introduce a hitherto unknown seated marble statuette by Niccolo Pisano, and a standing Madonna, carved in wood, by Arnolfo di Cambio. The spiritual and formal kinship of these two works attests the close relationship of the artists.

Almost none of Niccolo Pisano's work is to be found outside of Italy. There is in the Berlin Museum a relief which possibly represents the Beato Buonaccorso of Pistoja, and which Dr. Bode has related to the lost altar executed by Niccolo in 1273 for the cathedral of Pistoja. In this country only the Madonna of the Blumenthal Collection in New York,<sup>1</sup> an undoubtedly important work from Niccolo Pisano's atelier, has been ascribed to him. Of this work, however, as of the Berlin relief, it must be remarked that the style seems rather advanced for Niccolo. Although the folds and ornamentation of the clothing of the Blumenthal Madonna clearly show a relationship to his work, the type of the Madonna, with her all-too-regular features, differs from his figures, and the hands with their narrow, prominent wrists are completely in the manner of Giovanni Pisano. We can find hints of these same wrists in some of the corner figures of the Siena pulpit where, precisely, we may perhaps assume Giovanni's collaboration. The Blumenthal Madonna is of a more lyric aspect, and seems to stand midway between Niccolo and Giovanni. As her creator is unquestionably superior to Fra Guglielmo, whose types are well known, he may possibly have been one of the two other co-workers on the Siena pulpit—Lapo or Donato—although there is a possibility that this may be a late work of Niccolo's.

The Madonna belonging to Mrs. Edsel B. Ford of Detroit (Fig. 1) is appreciably smaller (height 9 inches), but its dignity and bigness of conception within these small dimensions is astonishing. It has not, to be sure, the pleasing quality of the Blumenthal Madonna. It is more primitive, more earnest—the work of a master with a stronger plastic feeling. The former Madonna faces us directly, with feet placed even-

<sup>1</sup> Published by Miss Rubinstein as a work of Niccolo Pisano's in "Art in America," 1918.





Fig. 1a



Fig. 1b

NICCOLO PISANO: MADONNA AND CHILD. MARBLE  
*In the possession of Mrs. Edsel B. Ford, Detroit*





ly side by side; the child, whose legs are likewise evenly arranged, is seated somewhat uneasily, turned slightly sidewise, upon the Madonna's left knee and lacks real support for his feet. In our statuette a far greater effect of plasticity is attained by the diagonal placing of the Madonna. Her left knee is slightly raised, and the child is held, in opposing diagonal, on this knee. His legs are crossed and his left foot is braced against the upper portion of his mother's leg. The features of the Madonna wear an earnest, almost sullen expression, and are very characteristic of Niccolo Pisano's types—particularly those of the relief on the Siena pulpit. (Compare with Fig. 3.) The figure is clearly influenced by the Roman Juno-type. The profile view, with slightly curved nose and nostrils, prominent empty-seeming eyes, and full, rather pendulous cheeks, is repeated in numerous female heads in the Siena reliefs while the deeply-waving hair, the diadem and flowing veil, are repeated in every detail in the Madonna figures of the Pisa pulpit. The broad ornamental bands of the robe are repeated identically in the reliefs on the Siena pulpit—in fact the similarity of detail goes still further. Our Madonna is seated on a Roman chair, whose one claw foot is visible from the front, one from the side, and two from the rear, and with side supports ornamented with lions' heads. The Madonna of the relief of the "Adoration of the Kings" in Pisa is seated on a similar chair. We cannot distinguish the seat of the Madonna in the Siena relief, but we recognize beside her head a motif that is repeated at the breast of our figure—the large fleur-de-lis.<sup>2</sup> This is held by an angel in the relief, and obviously was not, in the case of our Madonna, intended as a mere breast ornament—it is too large for this purpose—but as a symbol of virginity, held in the Madonna's hand. The object held by the Christ Child is not a staff, but a roll of writing, indicative of the Holy Writ. Another such scroll is clearly to be recognized in the hand of the Child held in the arms of the standing Madonna in the corner of the Siena relief (Fig. 3).<sup>3</sup>

The complete identity of the clothing of mother and child with that of Niccolo Pisano's Madonnas need scarcely be emphasized. In both cases the undergarment is girdled at the waist, and over this garment the Madonna wears a mantle falling in wide folds which only permits the tips of the feet, in broad, unornamented shoes, to emerge. The

<sup>2</sup> The right part of the relief with the fleur-de-lis between the heads of the Madonna and the Angel next to her can be seen in the upper left corner of Fig. 3.

<sup>3</sup> The child of the Blumenthal Madonna also holds this roll of writing, which is erroneously described by Miss Rubinstein as a fold of the garment. ("The infant Jesus holds the folds of his garment in his left hand.")

folds, again in Niccolo's manner, are draped closely around the Madonna's knee and fall (this is particularly marked in the rear view) into curious sharp angles and blunt corners. (Compare with the carving of the Nativity scene in Pisa, Fig. 2.)

The rear aspect of the newly-discovered Madonna is especially fine and proclaims the great master, particularly in the significant delineation of the drapery, and the cleverness with which the feet and supports of the seat, ornamented with lions' heads, emerge from beneath the splendid garment. Traces of gilding are still clearly visible in the ornamentation of the robe and on the lions' heads, and in isolated spots a blue-black tone, which was used to line the cloak, is distinguishable. Finally, it must be pointed out that the unusual motif of the crossed legs, leaving visible the sole of the naked foot, is repeated in one of Niccolo's reliefs—in the Joseph of the left hand lower corner of the Nativity (Fig. 2). Here, too, the herculean proportions of the torso of the newly-bathed child resemble those of the child of our statue.

From these close similarities to the two pulpits—particularly to the Siena pulpit—there can hardly be a doubt that our statuette is a work from the hand of Niccolo Pisano executed about 1260-70. (The Pisa pulpit was completed in 1259, that in Siena in 1268.)

The Standing Madonna Carved in Wood, which we are publishing here, is equally unique (Fig. 7). Italian wood statuettes, particularly of Madonnas, of the early period are exceedingly rare. If I am not mistaken this statuette was, on its discovery, attributed by Dr. Bode to Arnolfo di Cambio, and there is much to be said for this opinion. Its relationship to the work of Niccolo Pisano's atelier is particularly close. The figure has all the powerful, typically Romanesque characteristics of the figures on the earlier of the two pulpit reliefs, and cannot have been executed much later than 1270-80. Like Niccolo, the artist strove for strong plastic effect—almost to the point of exaggeration—in fact, in the massive, pulled-forward arrangement of the Madonna's garment which falls in ladder-like folds. We find similar ladder-like pleats in the garment of St. John in the crucifixion of the pulpit in Pisa; and the girdled garments of the Madonna and Child, the head-dress, even the hair-net are identical with some found in Niccolo's work, while the Juno-like type is derived from his figures.

Still closer, however, is the resemblance to the sculptures by Arnolfo di Cambio on the tomb of Cardinal de Bray in Orvieto (Fig. 5).





FIG. 3. NICCOLO PISANO: PRESENTATION AND MADONNA STATUE  
DETAIL OF PULPIT  
*Cathedral, Siena*



FIG. 4a



FIG. 4b



FIG. 4c

THREE DETAILS OF MADONNA STATUETTE  
FIG. 1



FIG. 2. NICCOLO PISANO: ANNUNCIATION AND NATIVITY. RELIEF FROM THE PULPIT  
*Baptistery, Pisa*





FIG. 5. ARNOLFO DI CAMBIO: TOMB OF CARDINAL DE BRAYE  
*S. Domenico, Orvieto*



FIG. 6. ARNOLFO DI CAMBIO: THE ANNUNCIATION. MARBLE RELIEF  
*Victoria and Albert Museum, London*







FIG. 7. ARNOLFO DI CAMBIO: MADONNA AND CHILD. WOOD  
*Private possession. Rome*





The rounded forms of the upper portion of our wooden statuette correspond exactly with those of the Madonna in the above monument, and the manner in which St. Domenic clasps his cowl, and the left hand angel raises the curtain shows a striking similarity to the treatment of the garments in the statuette.

It is my belief that the excellent marble relief of the Annunciation in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 6) is by the same hand as the wooden statuette. One has only to compare the types of the two Madonnas—the cornucopia-like formation of the edges of the falling draperies and the manner in which the garments spread themselves on the ground. The rather long slender fingers, slightly up-bent at the tips, which reappear in the wooden statuette are extremely characteristic. The relationship to Arnolfo's sculptures on the tomb of Cardinal de Braye is also obvious. We have but to compare the strongly emotionalized angel of the relief with the choir-boy who raises the curtain on the left of the monument, and the triangular formation composed in one case by the angel's garment, in the other by the curtain. The architectural forms of the relief are those of the Transition Style and in point of time are approximately contemporaneous with the pulpit reliefs of Niccolo Pisano.

## THE PRINCETON RAPHAEL

BY FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR.

SINCE Raphael is rather a great composer than a great executant, we are justified in valuing his compositions as such even when they are executed by other hands. Thus Dr. Wölfflin rightly bases his admirable studies of Raphael's style largely on the engraved copies of Marcantonio and on those late Madonnas which we know were mostly executed by assistants. From this point of view, even a copy of a composition otherwise unknown must, compositionally at least, be considered in any estimate of the master. For this reason the lovely Madonna with the Sleeping Child, for more than a century in Grovesnor House, London, has been carefully studied and generally praised by all biographers of Raphael from Passavant to Venturi. Except Waagen, who vaguely declares it to be "later," all critics have regarded it as a

contemporary copy of a lost original of Raphael's late Florentine or early Roman period, say about 1508 to 1510. If this were the whole story, the Museum of Historic Art would be delighted to own the picture and most grateful to the generous alumnus, Gerard B. Lambert, Esq., who presented it. But I am satisfied that this is neither the whole nor the true story, and I shall hope to show that this is the first Madonna in which Raphael employed assistance and that he painted much of it himself.

Before entering upon the stylistic analysis upon which such a demonstration must rest, a few words of material information are necessary. The wooden panel is 51 inches high by 42 wide, a little smaller than the Deposition of the Borghese, of 1507. It is much the largest of the many three-figure Madonnas which Raphael designed at Florence. Time has on the whole dealt kindly with it. There has been a darkening of everything but the flesh parts, which here and there are over-cleaned, but there either has been no repainting or it has been removed by a recent skilful cleaning. The dull verdegris with which the foreground was painted has changed into a warm brown, impairing the spatial relations in the lower half of the picture. Again the Madonna's deep blue mantle shows only traces of the original blue and in its darkened condition fails sufficiently to detach itself from the equally darkened foreground. Delicate indications of plants and shrubs which served both to adorn and to place the composition are still faintly visible but elude the camera. It should be recalled that most of the early Raphaels in which these relations are apparently correct have been repainted to that end. The sky has lost a little blue, but the middle and far distance retain their original, serene magic of balanced silvery greys, rather warm, with contrasting spots of dull red on the roofs and keen blue in the river. Everything above the Madonna's extended arm has the original effect of loveliness of mood emphasized by a tranquil and spacious nature; below there is a certain confusion caused by the darkening, and by the fading out of the veil which unified the composition and explained the Madonna's gesture. Against this must be set the exquisitely tender and learned drawing of the Child relaxed in sleep. In sheer beauty, as Professor Venturi has eloquently maintained, the picture fairly holds its own with the famous Florentine Raphaels. He rightly prefers it to the more grandiose revision, the Madonna of the Diadem, in the Louvre, which Raphael had painted at Rome about 1512 by an assistant, probably Penni.



RAPHAEL AND ASSISTANTS: THE VIRGIN WITH THE SLEEPING CHILD  
*Museum of Historic Art, Princeton, N. J.*





On the side of pedigree we know from notes carefully collected by the latest owner, Mr. Arthur Newton of London, that the picture was bought by the second Earl Grosvenor in 1806 from Mr. Welbore Ellis Agar. This lack of a complete pedigree has not deterred the critics from dating the picture within Raphael's lifetime—a fact entirely evident to anyone acquainted with the *materialia* of Renaissance painting.

Old versions of this composition exist (See C. & C. *Raphael* I, 354) in Munich, Buda Pest, Alnwick, Blenheim, in the Corsini collection at Florence, and there was formerly a *tondo* in the Broca collection at Milan, and another in the King of Holland's collection. There is as well a Raphaelesque cartoon in the Academy at Florence, for the figures only, with no landscape. Since all the painted copies are alike, Gruyer, *Les Vièrges de Raphael*, III, 177 ff, assumed that all were faithful copies of a lost painting by Raphael, and in this view Passavant, Waagen, Cavalcaselle and Venturi concur. Here it may be remarked that the disappearance without trace of a Raphael of this importance is at least unlikely, that it is not necessary to suppose that a completely autographic Raphael was the common original, and that it is possible that peculiar conditions have produced an unwarranted caution as regards the picture now at Princeton. Comparison of all the versions might or might not throw light on the subject. It has never been made with the aid of photographs. I regret the less that these are not available, because I feel there is a better method of approach in the Princeton picture itself.

First of all it has no look of a copy. Everything is meaningful, sustained, able. In so elaborate and large a composition the slackness of the fettered hand would be sure to show itself. Such passages as the Christchild, Saint John, the landscape, the nearly effaced plants, are not copyable. Throughout the work is fresh and immediate. No one who is literally following another man's painting does work of this quality for long. However, an executant might paint with this freedom from the approximate indications of a cartoon. I am aware that in this judgment I am opposing a truly formidable mass of authority. Let me remark, however, that the sceptical opinions are those of experts who have seen the panel only in passing and in uncleaned condition. I may set against the few minutes they have devoted to a dirty panel, in poor light, under the housekeeper's speeding eye, the hours I have devoted to the cleaned picture near at hand, in good light and unhastened. Be-

sides it is simply by pure intuition based on long experience that one feels a picture to be a copy or an original. The issue is not really arguable. One gives his opinion for what it is worth.

But if the picture is not a copy, no more is it a coherent whole. At least two hands are evident in it, and probably a third. I showed the picture to a talented young painter, and he spontaneously remarked what I had already observed that the Saint John was by another hand than that which painted the rest. Even in the reproduction the difference is palpable. The Babe and the face and hands of the Virgin are tenderly modelled with the conventional light shadows of the old style, delicately modulated. Everything is kept cool and blond after the fashion of Raphael's Florentine Madonnas. The landscape is cool and silvery with slight Peruginesque reminiscences, akin in make and equal in sheer quality to the backgrounds of Raphael's Madonnas of 1505 and 1506. The Saint John spiritually and materially is an intrusive and sensational element in an idyllic creation. His ecstatic expression is exaggerated to vulgarity, his hot and ruddy skin is swept by cross lights, heavy shadows vanish in cleverly arranged lost contours, the modelling is firm with a disagreeable puffiness, the mouth and eyelids have a characteristic rubbery tension, withal everything is robust and well understood, a consummate expression of great technical ability completely disjoined from taste. The discerning reader will not have failed to note that I have described most specifically the style of Giulio Romano who was Raphael's assistant at Rome from 1508 to the master's death.

We have, then, the problem of a Florentine composition of Raphael with a Roman addition. That the invention is Florentine is proved not only by the type of composition and the landscape originally so like that of the Madonna of the House of Alba (1507 ca.), but also by Cavalcaselle's identification of the convent on the knoll as San Salvi. Moreover the condition of the surface suggests that the figures and landscape were painted at a considerable interval of time. The sky and landscape show a fine, deep crackle, the figures a coarser, shallow crackle apparently due to a thinner application of paint with a lighter vehicle. Our task is now to see what inferences the above facts require or permit.

We have to do with a Raphaellesque picture of which the landscape was painted in Florence before 1508 while the figures were added at Rome by at least two hands one of which was Giulio Romano's. So far, I feel we are on safe ground. We may even date the figures pretty ac-



curately. The firm, taut folds of the Virgin's bodice are in system and touch those of the bodice of the Justice on the ceiling of the Camera della Segnatura, even to the V braid which defines the corsage. The ceiling must have been finished within the year 1510 or a little earlier. We have then an interval of two years or more between the painting of the landscape and the figures in our panel. It seems to have been one of several pictures which, as we know from Vasari, Raphael left unfinished at Florence when in 1508 he was called to Rome.

This opens a second line of inference. If the landscape was painted at Florence, it was painted by Raphael himself. Not merely does its accomplished beauty warrant the attribution, but also it goes back to a time when all of Raphael's pictures are autographic.

Raphael's first years in Rome must have been crowded with preparations for a gigantic decorative task the like of which he had not previously faced. No wonder that the unfinished panel stood neglected a couple of years against the studio wall. Then, presumably, a buyer turning up, the picture was finished with something less than the usual care, young Giulio Romano, he was about eighteen, fairly spreading himself on the execution of the Saint John. Who executed the Madonna and the Child with such fidelity to the original intention, in a mood so idyllic and Florentine, is a question not entirely easy to answer. The safe answer, obviously, is the Florentine, Penni, the only assistant who had seen the early Madonnas painted. Yet I wonder if the safe is also the right answer. Penni was able, but he was not exquisite, while psychologically it is doubtful if anyone but the master could so fully have recovered the grace of a day that, outside of Raphael's memory, was gone. To Penni we may reasonably credit the unusual violet faintly shot with yellow of the Virgin's bodice. This is in a purely Florentine tradition which antedates Raphael's Florentine years. And if Penni did the bodice, he also did the rest of the drapery, the handwriting of the cloth under the Child being that of the bodice, and he is responsible as well for the rather insensitive silhouette of the Madonna. The simplest explanation of the passages which make the beauty of the figure composition — the relaxed body of the Child and the delicately expressive face and hands of Mary — is that Raphael painted these essential features himself, lending a newly won dexterity to an old problem of sentiment. If so this is the earliest and most precious of Raphael's many Madonnas which are too summarily, in the present confusion of connoisseurship with criticism, ignored as school-pieces.

This conclusion I offer simply as the most reasonable inference from the facts. A complete demonstration would involve positive stylistic confrontations over a considerable period of time, investigation impossible in an advance notice. Accordingly I do not urge my conclusions upon the reader, but rather ask him to come and consider them before the picture and there confirm or reject them, naturally, if rejecting them, putting something better in their place. I promise him an experience of beauty that will justify his trip even if he decides that he has only seen an old copy.

## W. GEDNEY BUNCE

BY FREDERIC FAIRCHILD SHERMAN

IT was not the architectural ensemble of Venice—that famous pile of pillared palaces, arching bridges and towering spires rising like a mirage of unbelievable beauty out of the sea—which intrigued the brush of the late Gedney Bunce. Vine-covered walls of garden enclosures, balconies gay with rich carpets such as Martin Rico painted he never pictured at all. In some of his canvases you may perhaps find a gondola or get a glimpse of the city itself, but mostly he troubled himself with nothing more local than the fishing boats lying off the Salute. His pictures never happened to arouse any considerable furore in his lifetime and therefore he was never tempted by popular success to degenerate into a mere painter but remained always a true artist. He was indeed fortunate, as anyone acquainted with the resplendant “Ziem’s” of the commercial type who has seen the really fine works of his in the Museum at Marseilles will certainly appreciate. The conventional “Ziem” seems like a cheap lithograph compared with the quiet charm of any one of those exquisite sketches. They are as reticent and as refined as his glittering canvases of the popular sort are blatant and tiresome.

Gedney Bunce, though not a great artist in any sense, was a good



W. GEDNEY BUNCE: FISHING BOATS AT ANCHOR, VENICE



W. GEDNEY BUNCE: EARLY MORNING, VENICE





one. He never did anything of superlative importance certainly, but I have never seen one of his pictures which did not have a definite measure of inescapable beauty to recommend it. It was the water in which Venice is built and the atmosphere in which it dreams that he loved rather than the city itself. You cannot fail to recognize this when looking at his pictures. They are full of the beauty of the lagoons and the delicate, fine coloring of her skies. He never exaggerated this color in order to impress others with its wonderful charm. He wisely revealed only so much of it as intrigues one and makes one curious as to what his reticence withholds. His canvases confirm us in our desire to see the place he pictures. The pictures of other artists who are more precise in their renderings of the city, or more theatrical in their exploitation of the coloring of her skies, are seldom as interesting. They may catch the eye more readily but they do not hold it long, and one does not readily tire of one of Bunce's finer works. His pictures are full of quiet charm that is only gathered by looking at them unhurriedly. They are very satisfying in their rendering of atmospheric conditions and their fine tonality rather than any emphatic scheme of color makes them memorable. He succeeded in a measure in incorporating something of the poetry of the place in his pictures and it is because of this, I think, that one seldom if ever tires of them. However, for all their poetry and for all their reticence they are actually far more realistic than the more colorful canvases of others.

To Ziem the city was a splendid pageant, to Guardi an architectural triumph; to Rico it was a place of perpetual summer holiday and to Bunce it was an immortal poem. Ziem and Rico never really felt Venice; they were too busy looking at and picturing her brilliant modes. Guardi got the physical grandeur of her form; Bunce glimpsed the subtle attraction of her secret charm.

The most attractive example of Bunce's work with which I am personally acquainted is the Fishing Boats at Anchor, Venice, formerly in a private collection in England. Though not a large canvas it has an effect of spaciousness that provides a sympathetic setting for the group of boats in the foreground and the blending of the grayish golden clouded sky with the golden gray of the quiet water provides a harmony of color as interesting as it is subtle. Painted as most of his pictures are on a mahogany panel, the wood itself is in places a part of the picture and gives it a gracious warmth of tone. Very loose and free in handling and to a considerable extent done with palette knife

rather than the brush it has what technically is termed quality—a rare and precious ingredient in any painting. Its atmosphere is a convincing proof of the artist's ability for it reeks with the misty loveliness of the lagoons.

The large *Early Morning, Venice*, is also one of his finest productions. It is almost opalescent in tone with a predominance of pearly gray in coloring unmarred by the smallest spot of definite dark or light. The spotting of the picture—the boats and glimpses of the distant buildings of the city—is wonderfully effective, yet the objects themselves are happily sketched in rather than really painted and thus the whole canvas is kept loose and inviting in technic. Here as in the smaller picture the sky is a marvel of artistic craftsmanship in its delicate realism, running through the most intricate variations upon a color theme of singular poetic refinement.



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## CONTENTS

SOME NOTES ON AN EXHIBITION OF BRITISH PAINTING • BY JOHN HOPE-JOHNSTONE Page 87

A SELF-PORTRAIT BY VELASQUEZ • BY AUGUST L. MAYER Page 101

AN EARLY SIGNORELLI IN BOSTON • BY BERNARD BERENSON Page 105

TWO EARLY SELF-PORTRAITS BY REMBRANDT • BY W. R. VALENTINER Page 117

UNGLAZED TERRA COTTA GROUPS BY ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA • BY W. R. VALENTINER Page 120

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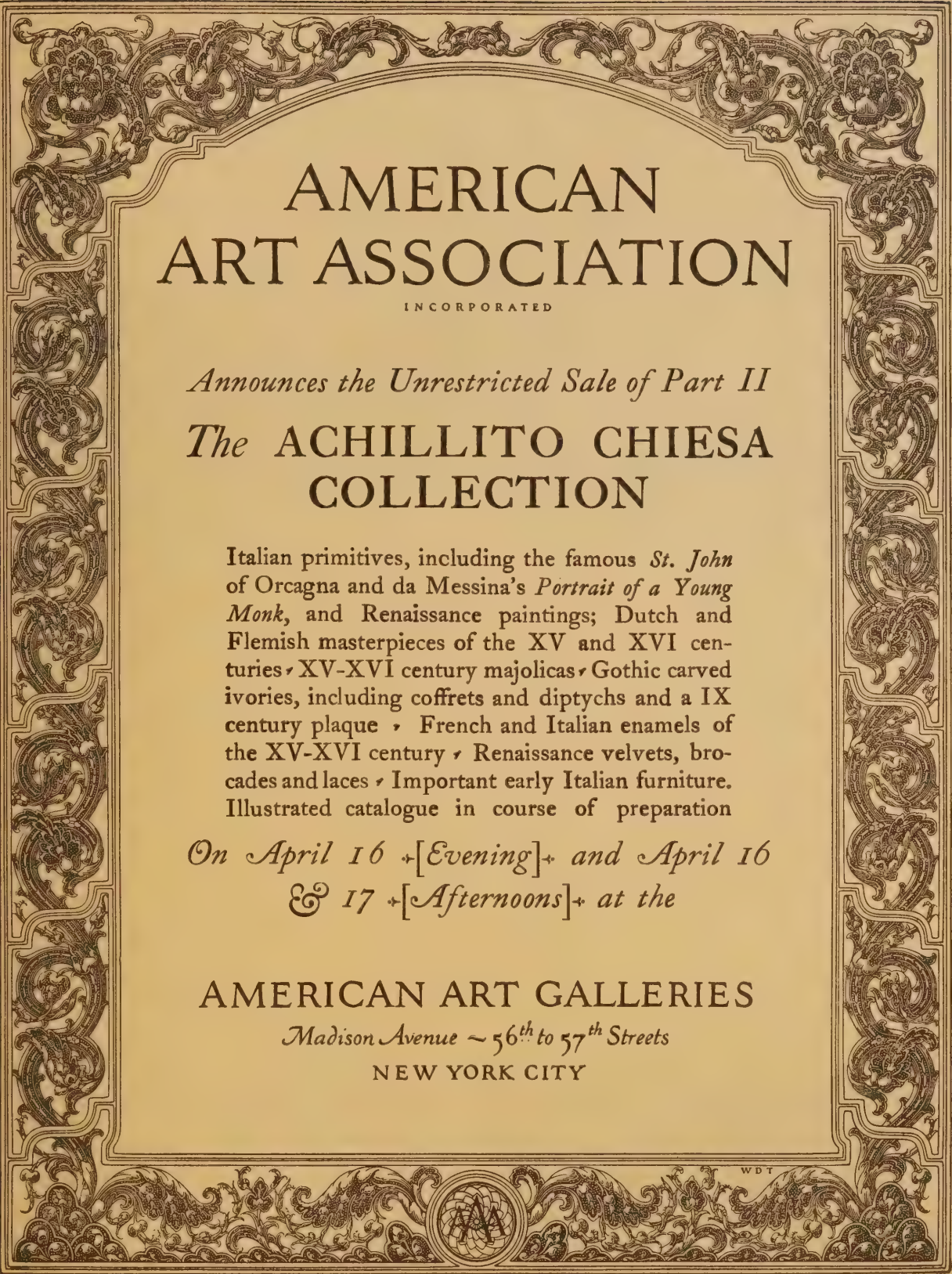
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SOME NOTES ON AN EXHIBITION OF  
BRITISH PAINTINGS

By JOHN HOPE-JOHNSTONE

THE Exhibition of British paintings recently held in Detroit, at the Institute of Arts, provides a convenient occasion for some reflections on this school. The exhibition was in several ways a remarkable one. Certainly no such imposing collection of works of the British school has been assembled in the United States, and it is doubtful whether so fine a one will ever be seen again. As many as fifty pictures were shown, many of them large and important works. The artists fall conveniently into two groups. The elder generation, born within the first third of the eighteenth century, could be judged from Reynolds, Gainsborough, and Romney. Romney indeed was represented by no fewer than thirteen canvases, seven or eight of which were full-length portraits. Raeburn, Hoppner, and Lawrence are the most important artists of the younger generation born after the middle of

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the century, and they too were adequately represented by a series of about twenty portraits.

Anyone ignorant of the later landscape school would have found it difficult perhaps, from the few examples presented, to form more than a vague notion of its achievements. Three excellent Constables, and two water colors and an oil painting by Turner made, however, an interesting pendant to the exhibition.

The works of these English painters and their biographies alike give one the impression that in general they have suffered from a bad conscience. There has been about them something of the mentality of consumptives, who would always be perfectly happy if only they could be somewhere else; in the meantime they condescend uneasily to be here. The land for which the English painters have most commonly pined has been the fenced territory of the *grand style*, the land of Raphael and Michelangelo — a land whose smaller denizens, whose monsters even, have sometimes looked to the exiled eyes of these *epigoni* as though they were of godlike stature or paradisaal beauty. And yet it has been, would they only accept it, the detested present that in most cases was the climate best suited to the delicacy of their constitutions. Benjamin Haydon is an example of the disastrous effect that may be produced by the rarefied air of too high an altitude.

Hogarth was an extremely competent artist in his own chosen field, yet nothing would satisfy him but he must essay the *grand historical*, and, deserting his own inspiring muse to run after this foreign goddess, he produced his Sigismunda. He had, however, too much sound sense to waste more than a limited amount of time in unprofitable infidelities.

The case of Sir Joshua is different. He was able to make the best of both worlds. There is something like genius in his power to absorb and transmute the virtues of greater artists, and his struggle to combine the excellencies of Raphael, Michelangelo, Titian, Parmigianino, and the Bolognese, though unable to produce anything that was more than remotely like the *grand style*, and often leading him into bathos or empty eloquence, still succeeds in inspiring his portraits with nobility, with a certain detachment from the mere object that his *mortal and perishing eyes* happened to behold. He has, like Hogarth, a fund of common sense and a penetrating, if not a profoundly penetrating, sense of character; and his innate and intelligently cultivated sense of style gives his portraits that permanence that the work of many equal-



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ly convincing makers of likenesses and better draughtsmen failed to achieve.

Few artists have had a happier instinct about their limitations than Gainsborough. He never pines for the grandiose, and, if sometimes in a group he attempts feats of composition beyond his power, one feels that the thing was forced on him by the vanity of an uxorious or philoprogenitive sitter. When in the mood he paints as naturally as a bird sings. How beautiful was the late unfinished sketch of the Goddard Children at the Detroit Exhibition! It was painted in 1788, the year of his death, and is said to be his last work. The fragile beauty of the heads is given by a few touches of almost incredible dexterity, and the rest of the picture is rubbed in with grey and white and a little flesh color on a warm umber-colored canvas — a technique derived from the Flemings. His talent was eminently *primesautier* and he is most successful where, as in this picture and in the wonderful Richard Savage Nassau, he is able to keep the freshness of his first inspiration. But the masterpiece perhaps of the whole collection, and one of the masterpieces of all landscape painting, was the large landscape which was formerly in the collection of Lord D'Abernon. There is sometimes about Gainsborough's art, as about the art of Watteau, an air of remoteness. It stirs our sense of regret as though it imaged a lost Eden. However English the forms and atmosphere of this countryside, it still suggests, beyond England, the eternal pastoral world of daydreams; it evokes an ideal scene of Vergilian eclogues. This is a world half remembered as though from childhood, beautiful with an unattainable purity and irrevocably lost, and embodied here as magically as in Debussy's music.

Romney is an artist to whom it is difficult to be quite just. His faults are glaring and his virtues are concealed under them and under a rather cloying prettiness which, one is inclined to suspect, is the principal cause of the popularity his paintings now enjoy. He is the most important example in England of a neo-classic artist. His aims were serious. He was always searching for a formal unity in his works, for largeness and coherence of design, and in some ways he is a forerunner of certain neo-classical artists of the present day. That he should not be gifted with the exquisite sensibility of a Gainsborough might have been expected; what may be more reasonably lamented is that he had little sense for the function of the limbs, of the different parts of the human body, and little power of designing in three dimen-

sions. There is something diagrammatic about his works, and the diagram is not accurate. He aims at a Greek severity and restraint, and occasionally he achieves it in a fine composition such as the famous Gower children; but too often, like so many neo-classic artists, like Canova especially, to mention no one nearer our own times, he mistakes baldness for a Doric simplicity. His want of sense of scale, too, is a quality that he shares with his fellow neo-classics. The largeness and emptiness of his shapes remind one rather of Lodovico Carracci, though he is far from possessing that master's correctness. This want of scale betrays him at times into spreading over a ten-foot canvas a modicum of invention that would perhaps have sufficed for the group on a Wedgwood teapot. His large works give the notion that his talent was nourished on engravings after the old masters, and that in the life-sized carrying out of his ideas, he has been able to introduce no corresponding increase of content. Hardly any artist gains more by photographic reduction. All his life he lamented the hard necessity that kept him chained to his detested trade of portrait painter; and it is true that his natural preoccupation with the abstract and his weak sense for character were not likely to produce great portraiture. But it may be doubted whether he had enough equipment to have made a success in the historical style in which he longed to excel. There is something inhibited about him, he often seems to be on the point of shaking off some oppression and spreading his wings in freedom, but the stars were against him. In the end he remains more the victim than the chosen of that siren that has destroyed so many Northern artists.

One of the most interesting pictures at the Detroit Exhibition was an extremely early portrait by Lawrence of a woman in a white dress, seated in a landscape. It was a student's work. The drawing was elementary, the eyes were not fitted into their sockets with any sureness, the arms were like tape, and the contour of the cheek was evidently the final result of a search that had been crowned with only an imperfect discovery. In the painting there was a good deal of Gainsborough's influence and some of Reynolds'; but in the beautiful handling of the hair and the draperies a personal manner was revealed that might have justified the highest hopes for the future of the young Lawrence. Such hopes would have been fulfilled for a moment, but they were destined in the end to disappointment. On the same wall hung his portrait of Mrs. Bewicke, belonging to Mr. John B. Ford, which dates from a few years later. All immaturity had disappeared, and the promise of the





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youthful work was amply fulfilled. This portrait was painted at the height of his powers, and belongs to his all-too-short best period. The serious artist in Lawrence died young, and was succeeded by a professional portrait painter. If we say that Romney attempted the Doric style, the word *Corinthian* inevitably offers itself as descriptive of Lawrence's later portraits. They have all the brassy effectiveness, all the suggestion of opulence, that that word has come to imply, their flashiness indeed turns at moments to real brilliance, but for the most part it remains superficial and vulgar. His effect on later painting was immense. He was one of the first who aimed at expressing as directly and as rapidly as possible the impression that fell on his retina, and he became a forerunner of many nineteenth century portrait painters.

What a different world it is from Gainsborough's that Constable discovers. He sees the fat and breeding earth, the English farmer's countryside, a world of cows and pastures and parish churches, where the clouds are heavy and rain is seldom far off. The trees are full of moisture and of wind, and everything glitters with the light reflected from fallen rain. No one has painted weather more consistently or more convincingly. His technique is exactly adapted to his subject. His color, spread thickly with the palette knife, has in its quality a suggestion of wet clay, something of the gross earth. It is the very opposite of Gainsborough's ethereal scumblings. He is the first artist to present the "slice of nature," and his influence has been far reaching. Is there one of his followers, Barbizon or English or Dutch, who has had his robustness or his power of expression? And at times, as in the enchanting *Moor Park*, there comes into his work—a by-product it seems of his search for truth of tone—a tranquil sense of beauty, an exquisiteness that one would have thought foreign to him.

It may be said that the artists who have made the glory of British painting have been those who have been content to avoid the great battles of the spirit and to cultivate the garden of their own *little sensation*. It was not given to England to produce a Poussin or an Ingres. Gainsborough and Constable are her most representative artists. The fact that anything that might be called English painting developed late and never succeeded in establishing itself as a school—the influence of Reynolds was short lived and expired with Hoppner—was favorable in that it allowed the personalities of individual artists to expand. English painting has had in consequence a provincial quality, and has run often to eccentricity. Sometimes an artist, dissatisfied with what

might seem to be a subordinate position in the history of art, has attempted more arduous triumphs. Sir Joshua escaped from the battle unsuccessfully indeed, but with exercised muscles, and Romney was "defeated but not disgraced." The others we can forget.

The nineteenth century was more bedevilled by Pre-Raphaelitism than ever the eighteenth century had been by "*cinquecentismo*." This remarkable aesthetic doctrine appears to have come from Germany, where it arose at the end of the eighteenth century. The main part of the program of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood of 1850 may be found in the writings of Friedrich von Schlegel, half a century earlier. In Germany it had produced a school known as the Nazarenes, but Overbeck and his associates were not sufficiently gifted for their example to have much effect, and the movement, coming as early as it did, allowed Germany to work the poison out of her system. And Germany has had the advantage of having been more exposed to foreign influence than England. In England the Pre-Raphaelite movement counted one talented artist, Rossetti, among its supporters, and Ruskin was the eloquent propagandist of an art movement that appealed to the Victorian public's gross appetite for uplifting anecdote. British official art is even to-day dominated by this influence. In these conditions not only was all technical tradition lost, but almost all appreciation of the true nature of painting disappeared. A Whistler must waste the best part of his energies in carrying on a wordy fight against the philistinism of his time. That fight was largely successful. At the present day the more talented artists are in a position to turn away from doctrines and much unprofitable commerce with the past to an exploitation of their individual sensibility.







VELASQUEZ: SELF-PORTRAIT

## A SELF-PORTRAIT BY VELASQUEZ

By AUGUST L. MAYER

SOME years ago I discovered in a cabinet of the Provincial Museum in Hanover, among Dutch paintings of the Rembrandt school, high up in the third row, a portrait described as "No. 469, Flemish Master, Portrait of Velasquez." After studying this picture closely a number of times I came to the conclusion that it was the work of Velasquez himself and must date from about 1635. In due time I published the result of my researches in the "Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst," but my attribution met at first with but dubious agreement, and I myself began to have doubts as in the long run the painting seemed to me somewhat feeble, and the tone quality of the picture, too, contributed to shake my favorable impression. After having wavered for some time from my published opinion, it has now become justified by fact, since a recent cleaning of the picture proves in surprising fashion that one (or possibly more) old restorations had completely robbed the picture of its original characteristics.

The portrait has, since being cleaned, achieved a real resurrection. It is not only that the original damage to the painting is far less than described by me in the article mentioned above, and that its preservation may be called good, but there is now no sign whatever of feebleness. The modeling has been wonderfully brought out by the disappearance of the dull brown tone, the whole painting reveals the silvery harmony so characteristic of Velasquez' work in the thirties, and has that gleaming, mother-of-pearl like carnation tone only found in Velasquez' own work, which none of his pupils succeeded in imitating.

One realizes now, more clearly than before, not only the connection with the portrait in Apsley House, London, lately designated as a portrait of Alonzo Cano; but more particularly, in sheer technique, the relation to the "Surrender of Breda," probably painted in 1634 and known under the name of "Las Lanzas."

On the extreme right of this famous composition by Velasquez we find the same head. In believing for a time that this head was considered by Allende Salazar to be a portrait of Mazo, I was in error, for the Spanish authority assumes the youthful head on the left hand side of the picture, the "Dutch soldier" shouldering his weapon, to be the portrait of Velasquez' son-in-law. The portrait now under discussion is, as I announced in my earlier article, a self-portrait which must have

been painted about 1634.

The corrected brush strokes, so characteristic of Velasquez, are very noticeable. The whole upper portion of the body has been altered from the original arrangement. The hair stood up higher and lay further toward the left side. On the right edge of the costume, too, from the collar across the shoulder, on the left of the chin and on the collar itself one can distinguish corrections. His wonderful, fluid, aquarelle-like brushwork — not least noticeable in the handling of the hair — can now at last be recognized. The picture was obviously painted somewhat hastily and not carried out in ultimate detail. It is an intimate work, and one is tempted to believe that we may regard it as a study, an original sketch, for the self-portrait of "Las Lanzas."

I do not believe it is necessary to point out further why Mazo cannot possibly be considered as the author of this work. I would, however, like to emphasize here that my later researches concerning the still somewhat uncertain artistic personality of Mazo have convinced me that his brushwork is invariably much harsher than his master's — even in his copies of Velasquez. This is obvious in the male portrait from the Douglas Collection in New York, which I published as a Mazo in this same magazine ten years ago and which an endeavor has lately been made to attribute to Velasquez.

Regarding the history of our Hanover portrait, it may be remarked that it passed in 1857 from the Hausmann Collection to the Fideikommiss Gallery of the Brunswick-Luneburg Family. Hausmann had acquired the painting under the designation of Van Dyck, but had later and correctly changed the attribution to Velasquez on the advice of three well-known English authorities. The later incorrect attribution of "Flemish Master, Portrait of Velasquez," lies on Eisenmann's conscience.

This picture was lately sold, with a number of others by the Duke of Brunswick, and its present possessor resolved on the cleaning which has revealed the full beauty of the work in such fortunate fashion and removed the last doubts as to Velasquez' authorship.







FIG. 1. SIGISMONELLI: MADONNA AND ANGEL  
*Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*



FIG. 2. PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA: JOSEPH AND SHEPHERDS  
FROM THE UNFINISHED NATIVITY  
*National Gallery, London*

## AN EARLY SIGNORELLI IN BOSTON

By BERNARD BERENSON

THE Boston Museum of Fine Arts has recently acquired a panel ascribed to Piero della Francesca (Fig. 1).

It represents a lady of homely features and sensitive expression—suggesting at once an early Copley and a late Ming portrait—posed stiffly but with dignity. To one side sits a naked infant, as solemn as a Buddha, as ventripotent as a Daikoku, as uncertain as an Harpocrates. Almost diagonally opposite to him appears a dwarf with smugly folded arms, who, but for scratches on the background that students of Christian Art recognized as wings, would be taken rather for one of Velasquez' "Meniñas" than for a boy angel.

The spatial relations of the different volumes are not over clear. Presumably Our Lady sits behind a low table covered with brocade, on which is placed the toy chair that serves for the Child. The parapet behind is intended no doubt to come forward less than it seems to do.

But for the pictographic wings, one would scarcely take this group for a Madonna with the Blessed Babe and an Angel. Considering the attribution to Piero della Francesca, considering the sickly, sensitive, almost peevish but aristocratically restrained face of the woman and the most unusual way of seating the infant, one would be tempted to speculate whether the group did not represent the Duchess of Urbino, whose profile, now in the Uffizi, Piero painted in 1466, with her only child, Guidobaldo, born in 1472.

There is no antecedent improbability to prevent the attribution of this distinguished work of art to Piero della Francesca. Notwithstanding, I venture to question it. To my sense this is the effort of a gifted but immature artist. He is not yet sure of himself. He is tentative, hesitating. The disciple is doing his best to equal his master. He betrays his individuality in the only way that a pious pupil can, by his shortcoming, his failure to reach the master's standard.

It might be argued that this Madonna was a youthful and immature work of Piero, as indeed Senator Corrado Ricci does when admitting into the canon of this painter's authentic works the two panels so like ours in spirit and quality, I mean the Madonna in the Villamarina Collection in Rome and the Madonna with Angels in the Library of Christ Church at Oxford.<sup>1</sup> But even if the argument could be

<sup>1</sup> See p. 10 of text to Domenico Anderson's altogether admirable album of reproductions after Piero's works. Rome, 1910.



sustained that these pictures, no matter by whom designed, were executed prior to the great achievement of Piero's maturity, his frescoes at Arezzo, I should not yet feel compelled to accept them as his autograph works, although my dissent might be hard to justify, and I should have to appeal to the few initiates of the Apollinian Mysteries. So I am glad to find, as I venture to believe, that data of a nature intelligible to every archaeologist establish that the Boston Madonna, to which we shall confine ourselves for the present, must have been painted after and not before the frescoes at Arezzo.

We may begin by asking what peculiarities that may date it are to be found in the picture, and we shall not discuss abstract matters like spiritual or material significance, but restrict ourselves to easily intelligible details.

A striking peculiarity is the V-shaped opening of the Virgin's tunic under a bare throat. You will look for it in vain in Piero's undisputed paintings until you come to a work certainly later than the Arezzo frescoes, namely the Nativity of the National Gallery. There Our Lady, as well as one of the Angels, can be seen with such an arrangement over the breast.

And lest this be a mere accident, let us enquire a bit into the history of the V-shaped opening in Italian costume. So far as I can discover this kind of an opening begins to appear in paintings toward 1450 only, and then rather as an embroidered pattern over a bodice or tunic that reaches fairly high up on the throat. Then the throat gradually gets barer, and the dress tends to have a deeper and deeper V-shaped opening. Before 1470 it is seldom—if indeed ever—as conspicuous as in the Boston Madonna. In the last quarter of the Quattrocento, on the other hand, it is of frequent occurrence, more often than not being laced across.

This is not the place for an exhaustive study of this item of Quattrocento costume. I must beg fellow students to accept my statement, with the further consideration that a change of fashion will not appear first in a solemn image of the Mother of Our Lord. Such an innovation will of course be recorded years earlier in furniture painting, such as chest-fronts, cupboard panels, birth-plates, etc., and in miniatures and engravings. What I mean to say, therefore, is that I question whether such a conspicuous V-shaped opening over the chest will be found in any Central Italian image of Our Lady much before 1465. In Piero's own work, as I have said, it occurs but once in the National Gallery

Nativity, an unfinished and late work (Fig. 2), and there the opening of the Virgin's dress is nothing like so pronounced as in our Madonna.

Another conspicuous feature in the Boston panel is the coiffure. The hair is combed tightly back, with the least bit of a wave to right and left, and is confined in a sort of net of ribbons, or, if you prefer, in a cap with such big rectangular holes in it as to leave nothing but a few strips. Among the undisputed works by Piero, again, I find but one fairly close parallel to this arrangement, and that on the head of Our Lady in the Brera Altarpiece (Fig. 3), which was painted after 1469.

These two items of costume furnish sufficient proof that the Boston Madonna could not have been designed before Piero finished his Arezzo frescoes, and its divergencies from his unquestioned paintings cannot be explained by placing it in that limbo of larvae, the prenatal days, so to speak, of an artistic personality.

We may observe further the significant differences there are both in type and in style between this performance and any of Piero's post-Aretine achievements. Note how massive, how robust are the personages in any of these designs. It does not occur to you to ask what health they are enjoying, what they are feeling or what they are thinking. They are beyond such considerations, being pure essences, timelessly incarnate, although graciously condescending to such temporalities of feature and dress as would make the theophany acceptable to Tuscans of a given moment in the fifteenth century. And then turn to the Boston Madonna. Far is hers from the Buddha-like head of the Brera (Fig. 3), sunk in fathomless depths of contemplation. As we observed earlier, she is aquiver with sensitiveness, all but ready to weep, and appealing for sympathy.

Nor will questions of style and execution serve to bridge the differences. I will not make an inventory of subciliary capsules, lachrymal glands, auricular canals, digital phalanges, retinas, corneas and all the other touch-stones of the most advanced postneo-Morellian school, but will have the courage to say in untechnical terms that where Piero is round our painter tends to be edgy, where the first is full ours is flat, where the former conveys a sense of weight, the latter avoids it. Piero is dead certain of his forms and values; our master is tentative. Piero has contours, the other outlines, etc., etc.

## II

If Piero della Francesca did not paint the Boston Madonna, who did? If I had no answer to suggest, I should not be composing this

article. But first it will be well to enquire whether other paintings exist which are sufficiently like this one to seem by the same hand. If there are any, they cannot fail to contribute towards consolidating or dissipating the suggestion that I have in mind. As luck would have it, there are two other panels which may without arousing dissent be ascribed to the author, whoever he was, of the Boston Madonna.

One of them is a well known and much admired, indeed almost popular work. It is the famous Madonna with three Angels in the Library of Christ Church at Oxford (Fig. 4), ascribed, of course, to Piero himself. And in some respects it is, as a matter of fact, nearer to this genius than is the Boston panel. It is grander, more monumental, more aloof. But is it not self-conscious, is it not an appreciation of a phase of Piero and an attempt to interpret this phase by manifesting it a trifle too obviously? I am inclined to believe that it is such a comment on the painter's master rather than a direct creation. And is it not as an interpretation made by a spirit nearer to our turgid egos, that this picture pleases us perhaps more than any by Piero himself?

In detail, however, the Oxford Madonna is farther away from the Master than the Boston panel. The types of the Child and of the frontal head of an Angel, the bony hands, the draperies of the Virgin's mantle—perhaps Verrocchiesque—the deliberate geometricality of her volume, are what I have in mind. Yet with the Boston Madonna the Oxford one has enough in common to persuade me that they are by the same hand. The heads are like enough, despite differences; the mouths are cut and the noses outlined in almost the same way, and the ears of the Madonnas are identical. The hair on the frontal Angel is lit up exactly as in the Angel of the Boston picture, and the wings of the two were done with the same touch. The bare throat and cut-open bodice of Our Lady, her coiffure, the Child with finger to mouth, the smug Angels with folded arms—reminiscent of the late Piero from Sinigaglia—are of course striking and, in the circumstances, significant resemblances.

The other painting which has been coupled with the Christ Church one is the Madonna in the possession of the Villamarina family, last signalled as being in Rome (Fig. 5). It is a fascinating picture. The Madonna is very distinguished, but she does not capitalize this quality as great ladies were portrayed doing a hundred years later. Her breeding, her line, may be enjoyed even while we go on to discuss her origin.





FIG. 3. PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA: HEAD OF THE VIRGIN FROM ALTARPIECE  
*The Brera, Milan*



FIG. 4. SIGNORELLI: MADONNA WITH THREE ANGELS  
*Christ Church Library, Oxford*





FIG. 5. SIGNORELLI: MADONNA AND CHILD  
*Villa Marina Collection, Rome*



FIG. 6. SIGNORELLI: ANNUNCIATION  
*Fresco in chapel of Casa da Monte, Gagnone, near Arezzo*





It is easy to understand that these heads, this volume, these draperies should impose a sense of identity with the Oxford picture, and I need not labor to show that it is no less certainly by the Master who did the Boston Madonna. We can not but be struck by similarities in the hair, the eyes, the mouths, the hands, and we see the V-shaped opening on her chest and the same rather flat arm wearing a slashed sleeve, while, most significant of all, the parapet comes forward in the same way, so that if looked at with eyes that see and do not merely read off, it seems to cut through her shoulders.

### III

I used to ascribe the Oxford and the Villamarina Madonnas to Bartolommeo della Gatta, Piero della Francesca's closest follower, but in the thirty years that have elapsed since then I have become dissatisfied with the attribution. Like many another, it came near enough for a provisional hypothesis, but nevertheless it kept one on the alert for a more convincing solution to the problem. That came to me the other day, when Count Umberto Gnoli, the Superintendent of Ancient Monuments and Works of Art in Umbria, induced me to look carefully at a stain, a smudge, on the bell-tower of the town hall at Città di Castello. I had vaguely known that these spots on the wall were all that remained of a Fresco executed in 1474 by Luca Signorelli, but outer glare and inner impatience had prevented me from looking at it carefully. This time I studied it scrupulously, and to my no small surprise I found that interesting and significant bits of the fresco could be described. The first thing to strike me was the singular likeness of the Christchild to the One in the Boston picture. Looking further, I observed that the relation of the ear to the eye in the Madonna of this fresco is exactly what it is in the Villamarina panel, that the neck had the same proportions and outlines, and that the opening of the eyes, although wider, had the same swing of curve. Then the St. Paul in the fresco has the somewhat bird-like shape and carriage of the head found in the Villamarina Madonna, and a great similarity of features and expression as well as of quality of line.

It thereupon occurred to me that in the past thirty years I had more than a few times been struck by something distinctly Signorellesque in the frontal Angel of the Christ Church Madonna, and something equally so in the long head and in the features of the Child in the Villamarina picture. I used to shrug my shoulders and put the difficulty aside by saying that, after all, Bartolommeo della Gatta was closer still.

And one could hardly think otherwise if the earliest Signorelli that we knew was the Altarpiece of 1484 in the Perugia Cathedral. Between that masterpiece and the Madonnas that have been the subject of this essay the connection is only generic. The question takes on a different aspect if we go back ten long years in the career of the young painter and consider the Citta di Castello fresco of 1474. Although it is far too ruined to yield a photographic reproduction, a trained eye can discern enough to connect it with our three Madonnas. The point of contact is chiefly through the Villamarina panel; and this is as it should be, for that work is of the three the remotest from Piero.

The evidence, slight as it may seem to outsiders as an abstract proposition, will perhaps seem to students of the problem as telling as it does to me. The best working hypothesis that I can now frame is that the Boston, the Christ Church and the Villamarina Madonnas were painted in the order named, not by Piero della Francesca himself, nor yet by Bartolommeo della Catta, as I used to think, but by Luca Signorelli. At that time he was just emerging from under the shadow of his mighty master, and we can study the effort to free himself and can estimate how much he throws overboard to salvage his own inferior personality. The superiority of the Boston panel—the one closest to Piero—to the two others is to a sense like mine most patent, as is the superiority of all three to any of the Madonnas we have always known to be Signorelli's.

If the attribution here suggested is right, we can push back Signorelli's beginnings by twelve years at least—no little gain. The young artist may but have just left Piero's studio when at about the age of two and twenty he painted the Boston Madonna. Within the next two years he must have executed the Christ Church and Villamarina panels and the Città di Castello fresco of 1474. And then for ten years we have nothing of unquestionable authenticity from his hand. In the light, however, of the Madonnas here discussed, we surely shall not hesitate to accept the frescoed Annunciation discovered by Signor Mario Salmi and published as Signorelli's in the *Rassegna d'Arte* for August, 1916<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 6). That distinguished design not only does something to bridge an entire decade in Signorelli's career, but shows us, as it were, the author of the Boston and the two other youthful panels

<sup>2</sup> These frescoes were rapidly disappearing, but thanks to Signor Salmi's appeal to the generosity of the owners, they have now been detached from the wall of the little chapel and deposited in the Museum of Arezzo.







FIG. 2. REMBRANDT: SELF-PORTRAIT  
*Collection of Mr. Paul M. Warburg, New York*



FIG. 1. REMBRANDT: SELF-PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST IN HIS STUDIO  
*Property of Mrs. Henry S. Sherman, Boston*

becoming the painter of the Perugia Altarpiece of 1484.

As even that impressive masterpiece does not mark its painter maturity, nor yet the grandiose Presentation from Volterra in the National Gallery, and as, in fact, Signorelli does not attain his full stature before 1490, it seems unwarranted to make of him, as we used to do, the most influential Umbro-Florentine artist of the last quarter of the Quattrocento. That position belongs to Pietro Perugino, and if there were accounts between them, Signorelli was the debtor and not the creditor. But if in Elysium he retains proud memories of what he did on this obscure planet, he may still claim that his uffizi tondo with the nudes in the background, his Berlin Pan and his frescoes at Orvieto were an inspiration to Michelangelo. Perhaps that is why he did not hesitate toward the end of his life to borrow money from him, refusing to pay it back and even denying the loan to his creditor's face.

## TWO EARLY SELF-PORTRAITS BY REMBRANDT

By W. R. VALENTINER

SOME twelve years ago the well-known artist, William M. Chase, showed me a little painting representing an artist in his studio which, in accordance with the old inscription on the back (Rembrandt, 1647), was attributed to Rembrandt. In fact, the composition with its striking effect of light, bold arrangement of the easel in the centre of the canvas, and delightfully conceived little figure of an artist who has just stepped back from his painting was quite worthy of Rembrandt — not, to be sure, of his maturity, but of the youthful master.

It had, moreover, for long seemed probable that Rembrandt must have painted a composition of this kind, for we know a series of pictures by his pupils, particularly by Dou, representing artists in their studios, which were painted during the Leyden period by men too lacking in imagination to have originated so delightful a motif. There was no trace of Dou's anxious minuteness to be found in the Chase picture, but it hardly seemed authoritative enough either in draughtsmanship or in color to authorize the attribution to Rembrandt him-



self. In the list compiled by me of Rembrandt's works in America (*Art of the Low Countries*, 1914) I have classified this painting as "doubtful," and as Hofstede de Groot later classified it in the "Bredius bundel," 1915, from a photograph, as "attributed to Rembrandt," and it was again published in this magazine in 1918 as "by Rembrandt?" I later in my supplementary volume on Rembrandt's painting (*Klassiker der Kunst*, 1923) pointed out that "the picture itself creates a less favorable impression than does the photograph."

The assumption that the Chase picture represented a composition by Rembrandt, and the doubts as to its being the artist's own work have both been justified, as the original painting recently came to light in England and has recently been acquired by Mrs. Henry S. Sherman of Boston (Fig. 1). In contrast to the copy, which is on canvas, the original painting is on wood. It measures  $9\frac{7}{8}$  x  $12\frac{5}{8}$  inches, was originally in the Collections of the Earls of Morton and of Lord Churston and is in an admirable state of preservation.

It is only necessary to compare the present illustration with the illustration of the Chase picture (*Art in America*, 1918) to realize that the draughtsmanship is far sharper and more authoritative in every detail; that the little figure of the painter has more character, and that it is executed with the wonderfully significant and beautiful brushwork which, even in his earliest works, was Rembrandt's special gift and to which no copyist could attain. The color nuances, too, are far superior to those of the Chase picture, and, particularly in the delightful juxtaposition of grey lilac and red-brown tones of the costume, very characteristic of Rembrandt's early work, of the years between 1627 and 1629. It seems to me that Rembrandt was here, unquestionably, picturing himself in his studio. Not, to be sure, with any idea of an accurate self-portrait, but rather portraying an interior with a remarkable light effect, and a transition from light to shadow round about the figure of the artist.

Another hitherto unknown self-portrait by Rembrandt reached America at this same time—a head and shoulders of a type with which we are already familiar, but particularly sympathetic in expression and executed in wonderful grey tones. It is signed with the monogram and the date 1629, and is now in the collection of Mr. Paul M. Warburg (Fig. 2). It should be compared with the self-portraits of the same period in the Museum at the Hague; in the collections of Comtesse Delaborde in Paris and of Mr. William Beattie in Glasgow;

in the Gallery at Gotha (Klassiker der Kunst, 27-32) ; in the possession of Colnaghi and of Mr. Philips at Eindhoven (Supplement, pages 6 and 7) ; and finally with the engraving of the same year (Hind 4) to realize what astonishing originality and rich invention Rembrandt displays in each new work.

The costume, with its collar of steel and scarf around the neck, is, to be sure, familiar to us from previously known self-portraits, as is the long hair falling to the shoulders, which a few years later was worn somewhat shorter and more carefully ordered. The earrings, however, are new, and we do not encounter them again until 1634. Nothing could be more different or more unexpected than the expression worn by the artist whose moods we already thought to know so well. The effect of the compressed lips shadowed by a moustache is particularly childlike and naïf ; the nose is better formed than usual and the eyes have a wide-awake, curious and alert expression. The features are soft and in conjunction with the braid-like arrangement of the long hair and the earrings create an almost girlish effect. The whole is a psychologically interesting self revelation by the young master executed with a surprising freedom of technique and the finest feeling for tone values.

NOTE: I am unable to follow the deductions of Mr. G. M. Collins Baker in his note on the Churston picture in the January number of the *Burlington Magazine*. I can understand that one may be led to believe that this painting and "La Main Chaude," in Dublin, which is indeed not so very far removed from Rembrandt, are by the same artist; but when he gives to the same hand the "Operation" in the L. Favre collection in Geneva, and the "Painter with the Lute," at Sedelmeyer's, I cannot follow him, as there is a vast difference in quality whatever may be the similarity in details or in the distribution of light and shadow — the difference between Rembrandt and Dou. His remark, "the disclosure of another version in America hardly makes its position more secure, for replicas of early Rembrandts are, surely, unknown" has no weight, since the Chase picture turns out to be a copy. One may even say that this fact speaks possibly more for Rembrandt as we know of many copies after his early works, while it is less likely that Dou's early works were copied at an early date.

## UNGLAZED TERRA COTTA GROUPS BY ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA

By W. R. VALENTINER

THE NATIVITY" (Fig. 1), ascribed to Antonio Rossellino is justly considered to be the most beautiful example of Italian Renaissance sculpture in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. It is extraordinarily pure in feeling, charming in form, most impressive in its modeling and moreover in splendid preservation — a work obviously predestined to win the favor of the general public without thereby forfeiting the appreciation of the connoisseur. When this group was acquired on my recommendation in 1911, it was described by me in the Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art as the work of Antonio Rossellino, under whose name it was purchased; and was later similarly listed by Joseph Breck in the Catalogue of the Museum's Renaissance Sculptures (1913, Nos. 22-26). This inherited attribution, however, never completely satisfied me, although as long as no better one was discovered there seemed little merit in questioning it, since there are always those in whose eyes an unnamed masterpiece suffers in charm.

A visit to Volterra last year has, I believe, provided the solution to this question — one which is simple enough, and would undoubtedly have been discovered by others if the creator of this work had not as a rule concealed himself behind a quite different technique. In the Chapel of the Santo Nome of the Cathedral at Volterra there are, in grated niches, two remarkable terra cotta groups by an unnamed artist which have curiously been attributed to the sixteenth century, although they instantly proclaim themselves to be works of the latter part of the Quattrocento. Both are unquestionably by the same hand. One, "The Adoration of the Child" (Fig. 2), consists of three figures; the second, "The Adoration of the Kings" (Fig. 3), of six figures. "The Adoration of the Child" has a fresco background painted by a different artist, rightly attributed by B. Berenson to Benozzo Gozzoli.<sup>1</sup> As this fresco depicts the retinue of the Kings, with the Kings themselves appearing in the rocky landscape, and includes in the upper right hand the star, in the form of an aperture in the wall diffusing

<sup>1</sup>Florentine painters of the Renaissance, 1909, p. 116 ("fresco background to a della Robbia Nativity: Procession of Magi"). This is the only place I can find where the terra cotta group is listed as "a della Robbia." It is not mentioned in Allan Marquand's book, nor in the Cicerone.





FIG. 1. ANDREA DELLA ROBBIÀ: THE NATIVITY  
*The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*



light, there can be no question but that the groups have been displaced and that this fresco was destined as a background for the group of "The Adoration of the Kings."

Anyone familiar with the New York group would, standing before "The Nativity" in Orvieto, be convinced at one glance that they were by the same artist. In particular the Madonna with her relatively large head, waving hair, unusually regular and appealing features and delightful purity of expression coincides completely. The hands, too, are identical in formation, the frail body is hidden under similar draperies, the feet similarly concealed by the garment. The larger proportions make no difference. The figures in Volterra are life size, those in New York reduced to about half that proportion. The Madonna in the Metropolitan seems, on comparison, more detailed in execution, more spiritual in feeling. These traits, which also apply to the figure of Joseph — as opposed to the greater freedom of gesture and less conscious detail of the Volterra group — would indicate a slightly later date of origin for this latter.

But who is the artist? Instead of the three figures in New York we now, including the two groups in Volterra, know of twelve, and it is naturally easier to grasp the elements of a master's style when so many more of his types are available. Florence is, of course, indicated by the collaboration of so celebrated a painter as Gozzoli in one of the groups. Antonio Rossellino is frankly now out of the question. The touching fervor of this group of the Adoration is quite alien to his cooler, more mundane, and not altogether unmannered style. The tender piety expressed in this terra cotta was not often encountered in the Florentine sculptures of the second half of the fifteenth century. Among the sculptors, Andrea della Robbia, known to be a passionate follower of Savonarola, probably retained it to the most marked degree, and it is he whom I believe to be the creator of these groups, as can, by careful comparison, be demonstrated.

The earlier reliefs by this master form a particularly good basis for comparison, and it is immaterial that we are there dealing with glazed reliefs and not with free figures as in our groups. The fact that we are familiar with numerous unglazed painted and unpainted terra cotta by Lucca della Robbia renders it more than likely that similar ones by Andrea are in existence and that it is merely accidental that none have hitherto been ascribed to him. At least we know of several figures in the round by him, such as the glazed figures of "The Annunciation"



in the Chiesa dell' Osservanza in Siena, and of the "St. Francis of Assissi," of later date. Moreover there are figures of such high relief in several of his reliefs that the modeling of either single free figures, or groups, would be an entirely natural sequence for him.

We can compare the kneeling Madonnas of the New York and Volterra groups with "The Crowning of the Madonna" in the Osservanza in Siena (Fig. 4), and "The Adoration of the Child" in La Verna (Fig. 5)—those wonderful compositions from the artist's best period.<sup>2</sup> The kneeling figure of the Virgin in the last named relief shows great similarities to the ones in our groups—the same proportions, similar features, the hair, which here, as in the Adoration group at Volterra is lightly covered with a head-kerchief, lies in identical waves on the neck and shoulders leaving the lower part of the ear exposed. The folds formed by that part of the cloak which hangs between the arms are identical with those of the New York Madonna, as are the draperies at wrist, knee, and feet. The type of the Madonna in "The Adoration of the Kings" at Volterra is not, at first glance, perhaps so strikingly in the style of Andrea. It is more earnest, more individual than many of the Madonnas in his glazed reliefs, particularly those of his later period. None the less, we can trace the connection here too—for example to the Madonna of the Simon Collection in the Museum at Berlin, and there are distinct similarities in the garment to the seated figures of the Osservanza group. The disposition of the mantle in folds across the lap and in up-rolling curves around the feet is very similar.

The type of the Child denotes surprisingly accurate observation on the part of youthful artist. It has far more individuality than most of the Christ Children in the reliefs and has analogies with the earlier swaddled babes of the Innocenti, and particularly with the one illustrated in Allan Marquand's book as figure 8.

Where the male figures are concerned it will suffice to compare them with those of the two reliefs here illustrated. The oldest King is the type of the Godfather, while the nobly formed head of the Moor, with its wonderful curling hair, greatly resembles the angel heads appearing respectively on the right behind God in the Osservanza relief, or praying in the left foreground in the La Verna relief. Then, too, the second King, and the figure of Joseph, also the figure on the left

<sup>2</sup>The groups should also be compared with the reliefs representing The Madonna Kneeling Before the Child, Figs. 149-156. Andrea della Robbia, by Allan Marquand. 1922, Vol. II.



FIG. 2. ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA: NATIVITY  
PAINTED TERRA COTTA  
*Volterra, Cathedral*



FIG. 3. ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA: ADORATION OF THE KINGS  
PAINTED TERRA COTTA  
*Volterra, Cathedral*







FIG. 4. ANDREA DELLA ROBbia: CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN  
GLAZED TERRA COTTA  
*Siena, Orseranza*

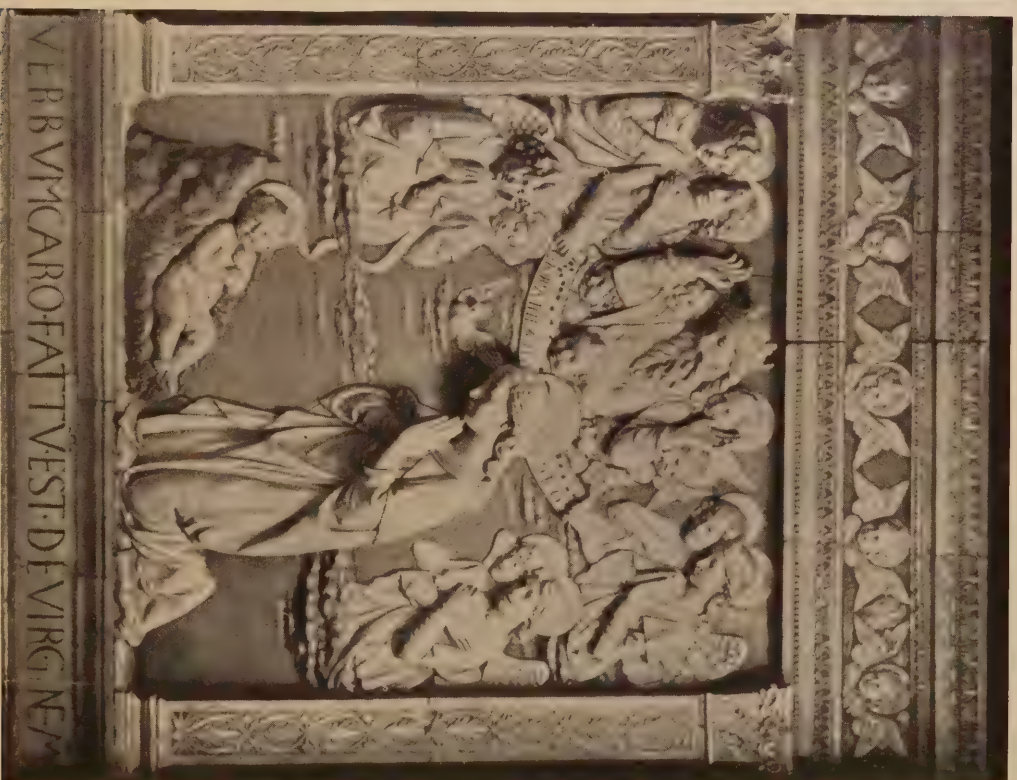


FIG. 5. ANDREA DELLA ROBbia: ADORATION OF THE CHILD  
GLAZED TERRA COTTA  
*La Terna*





proffering the golden vessel, can, in so far as formation of nose and mouth are concerned may very well be compared with the beardless saints in the foreground of the Osservanza relief.

If this be not sufficient proof, one may point to Andrea's highly characteristic modeling of the hands which is most strikingly exemplified in the Volterra group. Andrea's youthful figures have long exquisite fingers, whose delicate formation is hardly duplicated by any other sculptor of the period and whose firm decisive grip and slender curved wrists are instinct with an individual charm. These fingers, seen in numerous reliefs by Andrea, can be distinctly recognized in the Madonna and the two youthful Kings of the terra cotta groups. The Madonna in "The Adoration of the Kings" is very firmly encircling the arm and body of the Child, and Joseph's left hand in the other group shows all the characteristics of Andrea's hands in the clear articulation of its firmly posed fingers. Characteristic, too, is the somewhat incurved base of the fingers, with their prominent first joints, such as may be observed in the King on the extreme right and also in one of the lower flute players on the right-hand side of the Godfather in the Osservanza relief. Finally the curious disposition of the hand into a soft curve, when viewed from the front, should be noted. This is true of the Moorish king at Volterra, to some extent of the Godfather in the La Verna relief, and is frequently found elsewhere in Andrea's work.

As the correspondence between the terra cotta groups at Volterra and Andrea's work points with the utmost probability to Andrea as the creator of these groups, this same source of origin becomes highly probable for "The Nativity" in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, for there can hardly be a doubt that the New York group and the Volterra terra cottas are the work of the same hand. The resemblance between these unglazed terra cottas and the glazed pieces of Andrea's early period makes their origin comparatively early in his career most probable. Andrea was born in 1435 and was undoubtedly producing independently from 1460 on, although Marquand places his early works in the seventies and eighties. It seems to me no wise improbable that the old assumption which placed the Innocenti reliefs of the swaddled children between 1463-66 is correct, and it is precisely to these children that we can trace the relationship of the child of the Volterra Madonna.

The fresco painting of Benozzo Gozzoli, which is naturally contemporaneous with the terra cotta, points to the same period. In style it



corresponds most nearly to his work in San Gimignano, where he was employed from 1463-67, and which lies comparatively near to Volterra. These unglazed terra cottas of Andrea's are, therefore, in all probability his first independent creations, dating from the sixties, for their spirituality, too, points to his youthful days. As his development progressed, his types became more and more superficial, although they retained all of their great charm and beauty. There is in The Metropolitan Museum of Art the opportunity to study this change in his forms and in his spiritual outlook by comparing the terra cotta group of "The Nativity" with the large glazed altarpiece which he modeled in 1502, some forty years later.

In modern times Andrea's fame has been perceptibly minimized by that of his Uncle Lucca, and quite unjustly. To be sure, he does not possess Lucca's simplicity and fervent inspiration; his feeling for monumental forms, or the weight and severity of style which link Lucca to Donatello's generation. In place of these qualities, however, Andrea has a suavity, a childlike charm of expression, a feeling for beauty and grace and an almost musical quality in the structure of his work which is quite without parallel. His curly-headed angels, delicately formed and tender Madonnas and noble masculine figures are, in the harmony of their features, untouched by any other sculptor of the period. He is no less a master than Antonio Rossellino and in assuming him to be the creator of the wonderful terra cotta in the Metropolitan Museum we are but adding a new leaf to the laurel crown composed of the splendid works of his ripest period.

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## CONTENTS

THE CLIMAX OF CARAVAGGIO'S INFLUENCE ON  
GUERCINO • BY ROBERTO LONGHI Page 133

A NEBUCHADNEZZER TAPESTRY IN PROVIDENCE  
BY MIRIAM AMY BANKS Page 148

TWO UNPUBLISHED PICTURES BY PIETER AERTSEN  
BY ARTHUR EDWIN BYE Page 154

THE MASTER OF THE FOGG PIETA • BY RICHARD  
OFFNER Page 160

CORRESPONDENCE Page 177

NEW ART BOOKS Page 177

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FIG. 5. GUERCINO: ST. SEBASTIAN  
*The Hermitage, St. Petersburg*



FIG. 1. GUERCINO: HOLY VIRGIN WITH ST. FRANCESCA  
*Romana and attending angels*  
*Collection of Roberto Longhi, Rome*

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THE CLIMAX OF CARAVAGGIO'S INFLUENCE ON  
GUERCINO

BY ROBERTO LONGHI

IN the recent criticism on the "*Seicento*," in Italy and elsewhere, Guercino has been brought into the foreground more than other Emilian painters, nevertheless on a basis that doesn't seem entirely reasonable.

In fact it is very strange that precisely and chiefly the Italians, in giving themselves up to this field of research, forget all the tradition of national criticism which it is indispensable to build upon in order not to lose contact with historical truth. It is true that many of the new critics feel themselves more in sympathy with the ancestors of classical tendencies as Bellori or Passeri, or with those of freer and more romantic tendencies as De Dominici, Malvasia or Luigi Crespi, according to their personal taste, or preference.

In the case of Guercino it would have been particularly suitable to follow the best studies of the ancient local writers, who, as to the formation of the artist, rightly accented his spiritual affinities to the Carracci, especially to Ludovico, and to Caravaggio.

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The last criticism has on the contrary tried to exclude these affinities and to insist almost entirely upon the Venetian formation of the artist.

Now, we must, above all, remember that Venetian tradition was so diffused and so deeply rooted in Emilia, chiefly through Ferrara (Dosso), that it would be impossible to ignore it, as it is equally difficult to neglect it for any important feature whatever it may be of "Seicento" painting.

In Guercino's case particularly, we must not forget, as has been done hitherto, the new post Venetian elements that were evident in the work of these Ferrarese of the transition, as Scarsellino or Carlo Bonone.

But on the other hand it is impossible to deny, what the old critics never attempted to do, that the Carracci exactly, in their most exquisite and most brilliant Bolognese exordium, with the frescoes of Palaces Fava, Magnani and Sampieri, had diffused these Venetians' goods in Emilia, harmonizing them with the protobaroque movements from Parmese source and in certain altarpieces, fusing them already with that vigorous naturalistic impulse that had been alive for half a century in provincial Italy of the sixteenth century, and that, by way the Brescian and Bergamasque painters (Lotto, Savoldo, Moretto, Moroni, &c.) having offered many very important starting-points to the total evolution of Caravaggio, through the more complicated but often trivial endeavor of the Cremonese Campi, had foreseen the Carracesque methods and aims very accurately.

Methods and aims that were of naturalistic consultation for the detail and of general link, sometimes in the Venetian, other times in the Correggesque manner, for the whole; but which, nevertheless, simply on account of this initial naturalistic nucleus, became methodic and therefore academic in nature.

It is exactly that link which, for the diversity of its origin, gives the Carracci's and all the Carracesque school's work until 1620, that is until about Ludovico's death, the character of an experimental forge where every one could equip himself as best fitted him; and in fact we can at these times observe the curious phenomenon of coexistence, often in the same artists at contiguous moments and with strange alternatives, of the classical endeavours caused by the Annibale's last period, by the few Antonio Carracci's works and by Domenichino's deep reflections; the Albani's venetian-raphaëlesque Hellenism; the Britzio's, Valesio's, Spada's and Garbieri's naturalistic fragments; the Lucio Massari's severe composition derived from Cesi, and finally the



FIG. 2. GUERCINO: HOLY VIRGIN WITH ST. BERNARDINO  
*Cento Museum*



FIG. 3. GUERCINO: ST. PETER'S CHAIR  
*Cento Museum*



FIG. 4. GUERCINO: ST. PETER THE PENITENT  
*Cento Museum*





various efforts now classical, now Caravaggesque, now Venetian-like, now of the chromatic idealism of Guido Reni.

These twenty years, eventually, will only be known when we shall perceive the different, not only yearly, but even monthly, changes that appear from work to work.

Guercino himself, although organically more spontaneous and prolific than any other painter among the Carraceschi, in his first period which has been recently studied, is limited to his travel to Rome in 1621, where he reflected the changeable and experimental system of the Tucamminati Academy, so far as to let us perceive by turns in his early works the various sympathies of inheritance, that old criticism loved to see in him, and as it seems to us, very rightly.

Thus in attempting to group these first Guercinesque works in a likely order, it is impossible to follow the method we could uphold for lines of great uniformity of impulse, such as in the young Titian, for instance, but we must rather unite them in different groups, according to the various impulses which gave birth to them and must certainly have worked at different times upon the artist's mind. The order, therefore, will not be strictly chronological in this manner, but it shall certainly be psychological.

By a rule of psychology, spontaneity and picturesque vivacity prevail in the youthful works of a master, even admitting that in civilized times this spontaneity and this picturesque vivacity didn't appear "ex nihilo." In fact these two qualities of Guercino had been formally possessed and experimented by Ludovico and Annibale between 1580 and 1590, and by the former especially in this altarpiece of Cento from which Guercino is said to affirm "he had taken his first milk" ("aveva preso il primo latte"). One must recall in this connection the unsettled and anxious mind of Pietro Facini who had given, beside to the Carracci, sparks of light very similar to these that Guercino lit in his youth.

We are referring to works such as "Loth and his daughters" at the Escorial, "Marsyas and Apollo," "Susanna," "Talritha," "Holy Virgin" at Pitti's, "Peasant Concert" in the Uffizi gallery, "Death in Arcadia" in Corsini gallery at Rome, "Ecstasy of St. Francis" at Dresden (replica in the Cecconi Collection at Florence), "St. Francis with St. Benedict" at the Louvre, "Holy Virgin with St. Francesca Romana and Attending Angels" at St. Petersburg (replicas in the Museum of Angers and in my own collection. Fig. 1), "St. Veronica" at Dresden (there erroneously ascribed to the Guercino's school alone), the "Sibyl"

at the Faenza Museum (ascribed to Cavedone) and finally the frescoes of the villa Ludovisi, at Rome.

Here there is a group of works extending between 1615 and 1621 that, in spite of having been interrupted by others arising from somewhat different impulses, are closely related to each other by the same vivacious and picturesque character which, starting from the provincial Venetian contrasts of tones (Rosso, Romanino, &c.), dissolves them into a more vague and diffused spot ("macchia") of light and shade derived from Correggio's peculiar moods and leaves the whole in a non-finished wavering state that foretold to a certain extent the coming of the riper baroque style, but not yet a universal and continuous formula as Bernini and Cortona explained later, that could be termed as "proto-baroque."

According to an historic panorama it is the same style as was used by Giovanni da San Giovanni, Feti and Lys at Florence, Rome and Venice about the same time.

The crowning of this first protobaroque group of Guercino's works is, in a certain sense, the great altarpiece of St. William of Aquitania at Bologna, although certain naturalistic traits carry it over to a subsequent stage; however the fact that the upper part of this altarpiece is repeated in the extremely sketchy Pitti Madonna (and the top part of which is the most living little picture at Palazzo Bianco of Genoa) is of great significance. It may also be added that the picturesque intention which predominates therein is readily visible in the small sketch for the picture preserved in the Naples Museum. (Another supposed sketch for the St. William in the Blois Museum is not original but derived from the large picture).

The second stage which we have just mentioned leads us, on the contrary, to works where the Carracci's method of naturalistic representation of the model, but with a final general link to academic composition (whether of Roman or of Venetian origin is of little consequence), is quite evident.

We quote here the Bruxelles altarpiece, the three large pictures of Cento, that is to say, "Holy Virgin and St. Bernardino," "St. Peter's Chair," "St. Peter the Penitent" (Figs. 2, 3, 4) and "St. Sebastian" at St. Petersburg (Fig. 5), there ascribed to Ribera; and we point out that in all these specimens the method is nothing but that of a good Carraccesque about 1590, even if the academical links of the composition can sometimes reveal sympathies not only for the Carracci, but also for

Guido, for Schidone and for Carlo Bonone, an artist with so many resemblances to this period of Guercino and yet older than him. Other works can be considered as links between the first and the second stage, and for this purpose we quote "Erminia" (Fig. 6) at the Soria Palace in Rome, picturesque in visual oppositions as a whole, but with strikingly "natural" parts, and "Hercules with Auteus" on the ceiling of the Talon Palace at Bologna which is wrongly dated by ancient writers about 1626 and which modern criticism still more inaccurately does not accept as Guercino's own work. Even here the same "picturesque naturalism" may be seen.

That altered accentuation of visual contrasts of light and shade and of naturalistic details leads us to understand how a yet stronger impulse was possible in Guercino towards realizations in which naturalistic representation may be broader and deeper, and where, at the same time, the visual oppositions of light and shade becoming accentuated, tend to construct the pictures into a network of light larger, squarer and where the spot (*macchia*) is consequently more diffused.

It is at this point, naturally, that the question as to the relationship between Guercino and Caravaggio arises, relationship that modern criticism has tried to deny completely, brought about partly by a false conception of Caravaggio's art and partly by a much too simple explanation of a Venetian element in Guercino's first period; an explanation which does not consider enough the variety of impulses which moved the artist's spirit by turns and similar to that which took place in the first part of Guido's, Domenichino's and even Carracci's youth.

In our opinion there is no doubt that before the "all over" pictorial quality and before the light and shade produced by numerous light sources that appear in the protobaroque group which we have collected, yet another group, in which we place the "Evangelists" at Dresden, "Elias" at the Barberini Gallery, "St. Jerome" in several replicas (Lichtenstein and Harrach at Vienna, Schöuborn at Pommersfelden, Louvre, &c.). "Magdalen with Angels" at the Vatican Gallery (Fig. 7) shows a more constructive and more idealistic plan of light (uniformity of the fall of light) which at these times was necessarily of Caravaggesque origin, even if the forms on which the light falls are not precisely Caravaggesque.

Which is not all, because a further research leads us to other works, the first of which is doubtlessly the "Martyrdom of St. Peter" at Modena, where the artist's intention of creating a larger and less mobile spot (*macchia*) strikes upon objects as far as possible "natural" and as



Caravaggio would have liked to paint, that is without improving upon his representation by the provident schemes of Tuscan drawing or of Venetian chromatic shape.

We are referring principally to "St. Jerome sealing a letter" (Rome, Patrizi Collection and Corsini Gallery [Lincei]); "Prodigal Son" at Vienna (another in the Corsini Collection at Florence ascertained to be a copy, not an original as has been recently affirmed; a second copy at the Corsini Gallery at Rome); "Raising of Lazarus" in the Louvre, a picture which had a pendant in "Samson handed over to the Philistines," quoted by the ancient writers and now missing, although I know it through an ancient copy at the Angoulême Museum done by the hand of a Venetian painter of the seventeenth century; "The Incredible St. Thomas" in the Vatican Gallery, and finally the lower part, that is the essential part, of the famous burial of St. Petronilla in the Capitoline Gallery.

Here the psychological grouping which we have accomplished also reveals its chronological place and enables us to understand the probability of how the greatest relationship between Guercino and the Caravaggesque forms came about, as was otherwise natural, during his stay in Rome.

If in fact it is possible to admit that the Caravaggism of some parts of St. Peter's Martyrdom at Modena may be of indirect source, that is to say through the Caravaggesque experiments of Guido, the same remark cannot be made concerning works like "St. Thomas" and the "St. Petronilla" which we certainly know to have been painted at Rome. Besides in the work at Modena, close to the naturalistic parts such as the Saint and the executioners, there are others of picturesque vivacity which assure its prior place; it was in fact executed in 1618.

It is not the same with the Patrizi "St. Jerome" conceived in a magnificent luminous square, which has its unquestionable forerunner in the masterpiece painted by Caravaggio for the Marquis Giustiniani, and which, also for the treatment of a religious subject in half-length, agrees with the intentions of this new Evemerus, as it agrees in the interpretation of the subject and in the treatment of the light, with the "Prodigal Son" at Vienna.

Let us now examine the well-known picture of St. Petronilla. There is no doubt Guercino intended to enlarge his composition in the Venetian sense, especially in the upper part but it is equally evident that the pictorial interest centers in the lower part where certainly, even the choice of the most naturalistic moment of the burials is of a pure Cara-

vagguesque touch, very similar in fact to that of the Burial of St. Lucy depicted by Caravaggio in Syracuse.

It is a treatment where action and instantaneity substitute as far as possible contemplation and ecstasy, the streaks of the brush are compact, true, close to the model, but, at the same time, built up in large and heavy spots (*macchia*) originating in the light which falls down from the right in a large band.

The St. Petronilla, either in the powerfully shortened thrownback pose or the compact impasto without luminous sparklings, reveals the studies of the "Madonna of St. Agostino" and of the "St. Lucy"; the youth with a candle and the other with feathered headdress who is turning to the onlookers recall some of Caravaggio's pieces at St. Luigi dei Francesi.

Naturally, it is necessary to keep in mind that Guercino, learned by the experience of his time and knowing that his picture couldn't free itself from a decorative and, I daresay, catholic aim that is to accompany in the greatest Christian temple the altarpieces of his more academic contemporaries, couldn't certainly have painted it entirely in the naturalistic manner. That accounts for the academic additions of the upper part, which, however, cannot make us forget the supreme truths of the foreground.

So strong and so truly Caravaggesque are these, in fact, that they persuade us that the greatest effort of Guercino to draw nearer to Caravaggesque spirit came to pass at this time.

I was thoroughly confirmed in this opinion recently when a picture was presented to me for a judgment that many critics in Italy, amongst them the late Director of the Borghese Gallery, Cantalamessa, thought it possible to ascribe to Caravaggio himself.

In this picture (Fig. 8) of a David with Goliath's head, which, now in the possession of Doctor N. Ferri, Chicago (U.S.A.), offers me an opportunity of speaking of it in an American review, I at once recognized Guercino's handiwork, precisely at the moment when his study of Caravaggio reached an unexpected and fortunate climax.

To achieve his effect he chose a limited form and size, the half-length being best suited to render the most powerful illusion of fact, gesture and action; and before this picture it is no doubt that Guercino, knowing how to develop by the means of spots (*macchia*) of such calculated oppositions, so complex a formal effect, although rendered in terms of limbs, cannot but be extremely Caravaggesque.

In the least possible space capable of containing the representation

of the biblical shepherd with the enormous head of the murdered giant and limited to a moment that gives David just enough time cast a glance at the latter, stand out from the combination of this sudden spontaneous gesture and of the falling light, powerful effects of the new counterpoint of Caravaggio's light and shade. They reach the highest efficiency on this illumined square of the forearm on which the heavy and shadowed profile of David appears to be detached in consequence of the contrast of tone and plane, or in the highest degree of whiteness of the coarse cloth on which is contrasted that part of the arm which (as may be easily perceived in a sunburnt body) is naturally more darkly colored than the rest.

The solidity of this ruddy colour mixture, the strength of the shadows between the folds of the white cloth, and the almost fatal precision of the few tone touches on the hilt of the immense sword, may be added to give a better idea of the unmistakable effect of this concise and true treatment of a biblical subject that the lover of Italian art is more want to conceive by typical examples of Tuscan sculpture than in seventeenth-century specimens.

And yet many know that Caravaggio had particularly liked this biblical subject, which among others was singularly fitted to be interpreted according to his own antimythological and strongly rustic sense of human actions; it is sufficient to recall the magnificent examples in the Borghese and Vienna Galleries dealing with this subject.

We are obliged to recognize that Guercino may easily be confused with these and in this the foregoing attribution to Caravaggio finds its partial justification.

But in any case we don't consider that the proof of our conviction regarding Guercino's paternity in the case of this picture will need to be discussed at length.

The intention of the picture is truly Caravaggesque, but the execution of the intention is purely Guercinesque, not only in the colour-mixture and in the tones, but also in the various formal preferences which constitute the temperamental and regional aspects in the work of nearly all artists.

Caravaggio varies his tones in the flesh as life itself, but there, over and above the true tones, a yellowish overtone is diffused most characteristically as the old biographers of the early Guercino period were fond of pointing out.

Caravaggio's stroke is close, serried, hardly visible, but there Guercino cannot leave aside a certain overpowering love for a sinuous and





FIG. 7. GUERCINO: MAGDALEN WITH ANGELS  
*Vatican Gallery, Rome*



FIG. 6. GUERCINO: EMINIA  
*Doria Gallery, Rome*





FIG. 8. GUERCINO: DAVID WITH GOLIATH'S HEAD  
*Property of Prof. N. Ferri, Chicago*



FIG. 9. (Above) GUERCINO: DETAIL  
OF ST. PETER'S MARTYRDOM  
*Art Gallery, Modena*

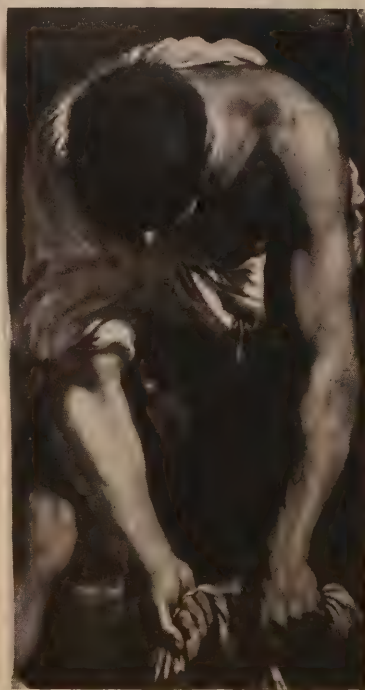


FIG. 10. (Below) GUERCINO: DETAIL  
OF BURIAL OF ST. PETRONILLA  
*Capitole Gallery, Rome*





weaving stroke especially in depicting the linen cloth; that can be connected with the artist's preferences for sinuous movement of the form, which is at least very visible under the sleeve. The type of body reveals a liking for muscular accentuation, even showing in the articulations traces of gigantic complexion; and all this is quite natural in an Emilian painter who, like all of his countrymen, has before his eyes the continually studied colossal models of Tibaldi; and in this connection we may allude to the prophets which Guercino painted in the dome of the Piacenza a few years later.

Are more evident proofs required? The following are most significant of my demonstration: that of the executioner of St. Peter's Martyrdom (Fig. 9) and still more that of the young man in the "St. Petronilla" (Fig. 10). In the last case mentioned it seems to me that Guercino even used the model of the Chicago David, and in any case it is certain that, in the newly-discovered picture, his method of employing the counterpoint of light and shade, of treating the white cloth and especially of marking the rise of the folds from the shirt's border, and his preference for a somewhat gigantic type, are so like other works by Guercino that we cannot further question the attribution.

Having obtained such knowledge for the cause of history, regarding this really outstanding work, a new light is thrown upon the problem of Guercino's Caravaggism. This light leads us to circumscribe it in its true terms, and illuminates the rather too vague meaning of Crespi's saying: "*la macchia della prima maniera de' Barbieri e de' Caravaggio*," but by no means annuls it as modern writers insist.

Guercino, having left Rome too soon to be able to foresee the ends towards which the painting would develop (for about ten years separate us from the flourishing of Bernini's and Cortona's true baroque), returned to Emilia and retreated to his little provincial domain, while the all circumstant region gradually evolved, notwithstanding the efforts of men as Savonanzi or Cannti, towards the more classical and academic movements, which were to continue, before the end of the century, into the art of Cignani and Franceschini, anticipating by more than fifty years the dawn of Neoclassicism.

There continued certainly in the Emilian region for some time after Guercino's return artistic events which reflect to a certain extent a sentimental interest for the naturalistic sources.

The foregoing refers to the attempts of Lionello Spada, on his way back from Rome and Malta, to unite the naturalistic Caravaggesque fragments with the subdued naturalism of Ludovico, as appears in the

ceiling at La Ghiara; to the analogous efforts of Gavasseti at Piacenza and Cremona, and somewhat later, at La Ghiara again, to the endeavour of Luca Ferrari to develop Caravaggism in a highly decorative style, with intentions very similar to those that Vouet had carried to France a few years before, and which Stanzioni was then spreading at Naples. We can quote also the Venetian Caravaggesque romanticism of some Ferrarese painters like Caletti or Cattani.

But all these happenings hardly seem to draw the attention of Guercino, who after the last Caravaggesque recollections of the altarpiece of the Madonna di Reggio and of the frescoes at Piacenza, seemed only absorbed in the almost triumphant prevalence of the ever more academised naturalism of Tiarini, of the Venetian-Roman Hellenism of Albani, and, above all, of the classicism wrapped in chromatic ideals of the late Guido.

Whatever may have been the reasons, Guercino found it more suitable to follow a contiguous road, certainly less fruitful for art, but more chosen by artists and by the contemporary public of those regions.

The judgment which can be allotted to this fact, so contrary to the natural genius of Guercino that he consequently never succeeded in filling a high academical rank among the academists, is rather of a moral than an aesthetic order and the history of art considers it more advantageous to overlook it almost entirely.

## A NEBUCHADNEZZER TAPESTRY IN PROVIDENCE

BY MIRIAM AMY BANKS

TO the mediaeval mind the Bible was, first of all, a great story book, and the lives of Biblical personages furnished picturesque subject matter for the makers of Gothic tapestries. Scarcely an important character escaped their attention. It would have been surprising if the great king of Babylon who conquered Jerusalem and carried the Israelities into captivity had been forgotten. We read that Edward IV of England "paid by the hand of Richard Willy for four pieces of Arras representing the History of Nabugodonoser."<sup>1</sup> In the inventory of tapestries made after Henry VIII's death, we find that at Richmond

<sup>1</sup> W. G. Thomson, *A History of Tapestry*, p. 168.





FLEMISH TAPESTRY. SIXTEENTH CENTURY  
NEBUCHADNEZZAR REGAINS HIS SANITY AND IS RESTORED TO HIS KINGDOM  
*The Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, R. I.*





there was "1 pece of Arras of Nabugodonoser," and in "The Princes Guarderobe," "3 peces of Tapestry of thistory of Nabugodonosor"; while at the sale of the Royal Collection in 1649, a Mr. Peirce bought "five very old pieces of Nabuchadnazar for £3."<sup>2</sup> There is recorded, also, the sale on the 3rd of May, 1650, of "three peices of Nabuchadnezar" to a Mr. Carrington; while in November of the next year, Mr. Decrittz bought "two pieces of Nabuchadnezer."<sup>3</sup> This would seem to prove that the Babylonian ruler had a fair degree of popularity with the early tapestry weavers.

The Museum of the Rhode Island School of Design possesses a large tapestry which undoubtedly depicts two dramatic episodes in the life of this ancient king. The left third of the tapestry is occupied with a scene in which Nebuchadnezzar, an old bearded man, kneels bare-foot, with reverent upturned countenance, his hands lifted in prayer, while a personage on bended knee offers crown and sceptre. Beside him stands Daniel invoking the blessing of God Almighty, who is represented by the head and shoulders of a bearded patriarch, wearing a papal crown and holding the orb and cross in his hand, within an oval of conventionalized clouds at the extreme top of the tapestry. A dignitary in a dark blue robe stands in solemn approbation at Daniel's left, and behind the king, two courtiers are engaged in earnest conversation. In the background are two horsemen, one approaching, one leaving the scene. The one who is approaching is leading by the bridle a saddled mule. In the distance, among hummocky blue-green hills, is a castle. This scene can represent nothing else than Nebuchadnezzar's restoration to sanity after his seven years' wandering among the beasts of the field. "I, Nebuchadnezzar, lifted up mine eyes unto heaven and mine understanding returned to me . . . and my counsellors and my lords sought unto me; and I was established in my kingdom." (Daniel IV: 34, 36).

This scene is divided by means of a slender Gothic pillar from that which fills the right two-thirds of the tapestry, where we are shown Nebuchadnezzar's triumphant entry into the city of Babylon. "I was established in my kingdom." The old king, with his crown on his head and sceptre in hand, rides proudly on his white horse, beneath whose legs trots a little dog, while Daniel on a mule by his side turns solicitously in his saddle. About them press a throng of mounted courtiers and men at arms trudging along on foot; while before them kneel a

<sup>2</sup> W. G. Thomson, *A History of Tapestry*, pp. 273, 276, 362.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 280, 282.



group of nobles and other dignitaries, and still others crowd out from the gate of the city or lean from its battlements. The identity of the city is made certain by the word *babillonne* in Gothic letters over the gate.

The persons of Nebuchadnezzar and Daniel are unmistakable in each scene. According to the custom of the time, they are garbed in contemporary costume. Daniel is represented as a comparatively young man dressed in a red robe girdled with blue, with a dark blue collar. In the left-hand scene the word *daniel* is written in beige Gothic letters against the red of his gown; in the right-hand scene the name appears very distinctly against the dark blue of his collar. Nebuchadnezzar is an aged man with long white beard. He is clad in a patterned cloak of soft-toned blue which shades to beige on the round of the folds. His collar is light brown, probably meant for fur. As he kneels uncrowned before God, he is not named, but when he rides in triumph into his capital, there appear across his cloak two lines of much worn lettering. In the upper line *nabuch* is easily deciphered; the rest is lost save for what probably is the upper part of the letter *d*. In the lower line the letters are very hard to trace. An *n* and two *o*'s can be made out. The third letter seems to be *l*, which is puzzling. As the other names are in French, the spelling probably approximates to Nabuchodonosor or Nabuchodorosor, the French transliteration, which is so much nearer to the Greek version of the Babylonian Nabu-Kudur-Usur than is our English form. We may read the name as *nabuch* (*o*) *d* (*o*) on the upper line, *no* (*l*?) *o* (*r*?) on the lower. Since it is a word variously spelled today, it would be surprising if in those days of temperamental orthography, an *l* might not usurp the place of an *s*.

The tapestry dates from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. I am inclined to narrow the date to the first decade of the sixteenth century. The patterns on the garments are more restrained and show smaller motives than appear on most of the fifteenth-century tapestries. The borders, a foot in width, with their conventionalized floral interlace and foliate knots, seem to reach toward the transition period. It should be noted that the two side borders and the upper and lower borders are of quite different design. The upper border is modern restoration made to match the lower border, which before repairing was detached from the tapestry and lacked the narrow band of galloon which according to usage should define its upper edge. The slender Gothic pillar which divides the scenes is very similar to the central pillar in the "Lady Experience" tapestry of the Supper and Banquet Series made in

Tournai in 1510,<sup>4</sup> and the supporting figure at its base is cousin german to the figures which support the upper part of the dividing pillar in the Davillier Virgin and Child tapestry in the Louvre, dated 1485.<sup>5</sup> The representation of the Godhead by the bust of an old bearded man, crowned and holding orb and cross, and set off from the rest of the tapestry by a circle of conventionalized cloudforms, is a treatment closely paralleled in the above-mentioned Davillier tapestry and in the Credo tapestry in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, dating from the end of the fifteenth century, though in both these tapestries the Divinity wears, in common with the usual Gothic tradition, the imperial rather than the papal crown. The triple tiara, signifying the teacher, law-giver and judge, is as fitting in its way for the head of God as is the crown of empire. The tapestry's provenience is probably northern France, though in general style it has much in common with the late Gothic products of Tournai. It is twelve feet two inches high by eighteen feet one inch wide, and is woven in wool whose colors are still fresh. While, as in practically all extant tapestries of this age, there are areas of restoration, it so happens that the repaired places in this piece occur fortunately for the most part in the draperies and less important features of the picture.

Since the scenes depicted in this tapestry are episodes that occurred at the end of Nebuchadnezzar's life, it is reasonable to suppose that it may have been the last of a series, the other pieces picturing earlier dramatic incidents in the king's life, such as his conquest of Jerusalem and his dedication of the golden image on the plain of Dura. Speculating on the possibility of such a series, one wonders if the other pieces are anywhere in existence.

<sup>4</sup> George Leland Hunter, *The Practical Book of Tapestries*, Pl. IV, m.

<sup>5</sup> George Leland Hunter, *Tapestries*, 1912, Pl. 269.

## TWO UNPUBLISHED PICTURES BY PIETER AERTSEN

BY ARTHUR EDWIN BYE

THE work of any artist of a transitional period has always an interest to the student of the history of art. Pieter Aertsen, living from 1507 or 1508 to 1575, belonged to such a period. It was the Protestant Age; his art reflects the movement, that is, of revolt against the accepted demands of a religious title. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Joachim de Patinir had already emancipated landscape, and Pieter Aertsen was to do the same for still-life painting. Soon Pieter Bruegel was to prove for good and all that the common incidents of life deserved recognition for themselves alone.

Dr. Bredius has called Aertsen the master who laid the foundations of still-life painting in the Netherlands. Before his time, it is true, artists had perceived the beauty of mere objects, and had devoted especial care to them, but, except as occasional incidental studies, they subjected the still-life in their pictures to the position of mere accessories to a theme. Pieter Aertsen himself felt the necessity of having a story to tell, as in his picture "Jesus in the House of Mary and Martha," but it is plainly in Martha, the practical cook, and in her kitchen supplies, that he is chiefly interested. In some pictures he went even further, and relegated his figures to the same subordinate position that formerly the still life held.

It is difficult to realize that Pieter Aertsen was eighteen years older than Bruegel — an artistic generation at least. Aertsen's best known picture, "The Egg Dance" in the Ryks Museum, Amsterdam, was painted when the artist was forty-nine or fifty and Bruegel thirty-two. It is quite in the spirit of the great Fleming. True, it is purely anecdotal, trivial in conception, which Bruegel's pictures seldom are, and the figures are stiff and awkward, but because of its liveliness, its luminous and gay coloring, it makes a similar appeal as a feasting scene by Bruegel, or by Jan Steen, a century later, for that matter. Aertsen was in no sense the great master that Bruegel was; he lacked the profound conceptions and universality. But he was scarcely less a leader in the field of genre painting.

Mr. Johannes Sievers, in his valuable, if not very analytical, book on Pieter Aertsen,<sup>1</sup> states, at the end, that he believes there must be

<sup>1</sup> Pieter Aertsen, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Niederländischen Kunst in im XVI Jahrhundert. Kunstgeschichtliche Monographien IX. Karl W. Hiersemann, Leipzig, 1908.





FIG. 1. PIETER AERTSEN: THE ADORATION  
*The Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, Penn.*



FIG. 2. PIETER AERTSEN: MARKET SCENE  
*The Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, Penn.*



numerous works of our painter in private hands, hitherto unpublished and unknown to him. In the Pennsylvania Museum in Philadelphia there are two examples, both of his early period, of which there are so far very few known works; one makes a valuable addition to his list of religious pictures, and the other to his list of market scenes.

The first is an Adoration<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 1). It does not strike one immediately as being characteristic of Pieter Aertsen. The refined, almost aristocratic face of the Virgin, the conscious grace with which she holds one hand to her breast and with the other lifts the drapery at the Saviour's head, does not recall the plebian clumsiness of figures more familiar to us in Aertsen's works. There is an evident attempt at elegance in this part of the picture, which one appreciates as much in the coloring as in the gestures — the green blue of the robe, the lemon yellow of the sleeves contrasted against the bright vermillion of the cloak, with the relief of the white of the kerchief of the cuffs — this is a combination of colors as striking as it is delightful. And in the patriarchal head of Joseph we find a rather noble conception, which we do not recognize. We are more accustomed to Aertsen's stupid-looking peasant types, flat faced, hollow eyed, thin-cheeked with vacant expression, which he preferred for his portrayals of old peasant men, although in his other Adoration pictures, notably in the Ryks Museum fragment, we find a very expressive and intelligent type.

Notwithstanding these apparent differences, there are many close analogies between this and already known pictures by Pieter Aertsen. Sievers publishes four Adorations, two of them fragments; one in the Deutzen Hofje in Amsterdam; one in Schloss Nieuwebruck, Beesel; one in the Tholen Collection, The Hague; and another in the Ryks Museum, Amsterdam. All of these Sievers believes were painted between 1554 and 1559, that is, at the close of Aertsen's twenty year Antwerp period, and at the beginning of his equally long career in Amsterdam. Of these four, the one with the closest analogy to the Pennsylvania Museum panel, is the Beesel fragment. First, the composition is the same in both, crowded, with large figures, all bending intently toward the central object of the picture, the infant Saviour. And then, almost the identical ox pokes his head in both pictures. (The ox in all of Aertsen's pictures are practically alike, with only the head shown, and at exactly the same angle). The Baby also, in the Pennsylvania Museum panel, is the same Aertsen baby as in the Beesel panel

<sup>2</sup> Panel, size 40 x 32 inches, formerly in the P. W. Jansen Collection, Amsterdam.



—not in the same attitude, but with the same playful activity, kicking and raising its arms up toward its mother. This playful baby may be recognized in *The Hague Adoration*. There is a picture of Aertsen's in Culemborg, of the Four Evangelists, which Sievers also dates about 1559, where St. John makes the same gesture of the hand over the breast as Mary in the Pennsylvania Museum panel, and this gesture can be found in a "Kermesse" in Brussels (1546) and in a Crucifixion in Antwerp.

We could keep on making numerous comparisons between the Pennsylvania Museum picture and others known to be Aertsen's or attributed to him, for instance, with the lanthorn, a studio property carried by a shepherd, or with the treatment of folds in the drapery, about which much could be said; but it is hardly necessary. It is evident that the Pennsylvania Museum picture must have been painted, like the others above mentioned, in Aertsen's Antwerp period. The earliest possible date should be given it. It is far removed from his later, more advanced style. In the treatment of hair he shows himself to be still a primitive, while in later pictures his treatment is broader. What Italian influence he experienced (and this we presume, from what we know of his life, must have been in his youth) shows itself here; we can imagine an acquaintanceship with Bassano. Certainly these are not the settled models of Aertsen's typically Dutch and Flemish kitchen scenes. It seems earlier than the Beesel fragment, dated 1554, and even earlier than the market scene, presently to be described. It is possibly as early as 1546.

The "Market Scene" (Fig. 2) in the Pennsylvania Museum<sup>8</sup> strikes one at once as being very characteristic of Aertsen. Here the painter is much more at home than in a religious scene. Aertsen painted at least six other such pictures, not counting Kermesses and purely kitchen scenes or still-lives; (1) an "Old Peasant Woman with a Basket of Eggs" in Lille, his earliest signed and dated picture (1543); (2) "Peasants Selling Game" in Brunswick (dated by Sievers 1545 to 1550); (3) a "Market Woman" in Antwerp, Spruyt-Quebeauvillers Collection (dated by Sievers 1567); (4) a picture entitled "Still-life with Figures," but really a produce merchant's shop, in Stockholm, Count Hallwyl Collection (dated 1569); (5) "Peasant Going to Market" in Petrograd, formerly Seminoff Collection (undated); (6) same subject in Budapest (dated 1561); to which must be added (7) a

<sup>8</sup> Panel, size 51 x 42 inches, formerly in the P. W. Jansen Collection, Amsterdam.

"Kitchen Scene" in Copenhagen (about 1572); (8) "Market Scene, Christ and the Adulteress in the Background," in Frankfort (1559?), and finally, (9) the same subject as the last in Petrograd, Delarow Collection (1560-1562); these latter three being only secondarily figure subjects, the still-life being predominant. The late pictures, from 1559 on, with the exception of the Budapest Peasant, are all very elaborate, with numerous small figures and a great quantity of still-life. Of the above list, the ones that bear the closest analogy to the Pennsylvania Museum "Market Scene" are the "Peasants Selling Game" in Brunswick, and "Peasant Woman" of Lille, the two earliest.

It will be enough to compare the Brunswick and the Pennsylvania Museum panels. In both, the figures are placed in an architectural setting of stone walls and pilasters with a glimpse of scenery behind them. This is true also of the Lille picture. Pieter Aertsen's peculiar treatment of foliage is noticeable in both, like a flat lace work screen. The composition, with large figures, half buried in farm produce, is the same. The old peasant women might be sisters, so similar are their wrinkled faces and leathery necks. The way in which they lay their hands upon the handles of their baskets is characteristic of both. These old women have brawny arms and strong hands; they seem (as always with Aertsen's market people) not to rest but to hold on to objects, as if on guard against theft. The more one studies the treatment of these hands, the more certain one becomes that this remarkable attention to bony structure, and hardened though wrinkled skin, is absolutely characteristic of Aertsen.

The most striking single feature of the Pennsylvania Museum picture is the hat on the old woman; it is of brilliant vermillion felt, or plush. We find such hats in other of Aertsen's pictures (notably in "The Egg Dance") but if I remember correctly they are black. The flat felt hat on the back of the old beggar man can be found exactly the same in the Beesel "Adoration." This old man was apparently painted from the same model that Aertsen used in his "Peasants Feasting" in Vienna (dated 1550) and his "Peasant Scene" in Antwerp (dated 1556).

It is useless to continue the comparison with the still-life. We can find the same ducks, eggs and slices of salmon in other pictures by Aertsen, but Joachim de Beukelaar, his nephew, and imitator, the only painter that can be confused with him, might have done them in the same way. Enough has been said to indicate that the "Market Scene" belongs to the early Antwerp group of Aertsen's pictures,

painted perhaps as early as the Lille "Market Woman" of 1543, and not later than the Brunswick "Peasants Selling Game" of 1545 to 1550.

As only thirty-three works have been attributed so far to Pieter Aertsen, it seems to the writer that the two Pennsylvania Museum panels make notable additions to the list of the master's works.

## THE MASTER OF THE FOGG PIETÀ

BY RICHARD OFFNER

WHATEVER the evils of attribution and particularly its abuses by one side, the alarms on the other, with all its real and fancied difficulties, and the somewhat fatuous objections it raises in certain circles, its absence would be a deplorable sign of indifference. And to-day the pictures that still remain without a plausible designation, even those among them of considerable merit, are accorded a very limited attention.

The mind of the most Rousseauistic aesthete cannot help putting the question of identity to itself. The more individualized one's pleasure in a picture, the more it will seek to resolve itself into terms that are mentally more seizable than the fugitive aesthetic experience. These terms will differentiate it from all other adventures of its type and furnish a name to the differentiation. An attribution is a differentiation of aesthetic experience. And this baptismal habit has also its practical and more trivial uses in making a work thus classified an object of general currency.

The fact that a number of interesting pictures by the single master herein dealt with, are still scattered and unidentified, has deprived them of the force of authority they regain in a consolidated body. Such is the case of a Crucifix (Fig. 1) in the Church of S. Croce in Florence. That this Crucifix — which now hangs in the sacristy<sup>1</sup> in its darkest

<sup>1</sup> Crowe and Cavalcaselle (Ed. Edward Hutton, London, 1908, Vol. I, p. 155) identifies this Crucifix, which in the seventies of the last century graced the vestibule common to the sacristy and the Medici Chapel, with one to which Vasari attributes the glorious rôle of serving as a gift of appreciation to Farinata degli Uberti for preventing the destruction of Florence after the battle of Montaperti in 1260, from Margaritone its painter. Vasari (*Vite*, etc., ed. Sansoni, Flor., 1906, Vol. I, pp. 361, 362) saw it hanging three centuries later between the Peruzzi and Giugni Chapels. Milanesi, writing in 1878 (*op. cit.* p. 362, n. 1), questions this identification. And one might properly ask whether Vasari, who describes the Margaritone Crucifix as "*dipinto alla greca*," would have confused the Byzantinizing style of the middle Dugento which he distinguished in other instances so well from that of the succeeding century, with the fourteenth-century subject of this discussion. He was doubtless referring to another one, very likely of Margaritone's generation whether by him or not. In the guide-books and among the simple local tradition it still goes by the name of the Aretine master. Maud Cruttwell (*Flor. Churches*, London Ed. Dent., 1908, p. 92) says it was removed to the Sacristy in 1839.





FIG. 7. THE FOGG MUSEUM PIETÀ  
*The Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass.*



corner, high up along the wall — has not, however, remained altogether neglected, is proved by its mention in modern critical literature. Adolfo Venturi<sup>2</sup> (*Storia*, etc., Rome, 1906, Vol. V, p. 492) attributes it to the School of Giotto, where it undeniably belongs by its form and its style. The tradition initiated by this genius, organizes the parts of the figure in a solid form that functions primarily as an integral member of the compositional structure. But if Giottesque in its traditions, this Crucifix is just far enough removed from him to conceal a dependence on him as evident as that of other contemporary Florentine Crucifixes. On the other hand, it looks forward towards, and anticipates — remotely it is true, but by actual lines of connection — the greater Andrea del Castagno, who likes similarly to dwell on the raw bulk of the figure and on its bluntness of feature, and place it in a cognate psychological ambient.

If it wants in that synthesis which organizes our faculties to instant response, if its realism stops where it begins, it declares nevertheless a vigorous personality who expresses himself without hesitation and without confusion.

A small number of pictures by him extended over a lifetime of activity is more likely to throw into prominence the disparities between them than their radical unity. Accordingly, even the painting that suggests the closest proximity of period to the S. Croce Crucifix, an altarpiece in the Collegiata at Figline, defies at first blush, by its incidental disparities, all evidences of common origin. The nature of the subject is alone enough to magnify them. Unlike the Crucifixion, which isolates a definite interval following the tragedy, the altarpiece is without time and without action.

Ruin and restoration disguise at least half of the surface and the unique photograph existing of it renders inadequate testimony of its actual appearance. Moreover the form, the movement, are gentler in effect, the pantomime appropriately relaxes. The even mood is broken only by the restlessness of the burly bear-like Infant. His head and that of the angel at His left, however, at once offer a haunting resemblance to the John in the Crucifix (Fig. 2), in something that under all the varying external manifestations seems to spring from a common temperament, a common personality, a common orbit of consciousness. The mask is thrown over the same bony frame and shows the same rises and depressions. The hair has the same tendency to curl at the ends. The lids have the same heavy outlines that hold a similar glance

<sup>2</sup> See also O. Sirén, *Giottino* (Leipzig, 1908), p. 94, where the author tentatively attributes the Crucifix to Antonio Veneziano.



between them. The fingers, which part at the roots and curve together at the tips, reappear in the left hands of Christ and Mary; the drapery, which in both paintings tends to fall into broad planes of light, sinks to narrow folds. These similarities of shape become the more significant by leading us to ultimate types that distinguish themselves sharply from all other contemporary painting.

To these two pictures may be joined two panels, which by sharing their analogies, will serve to improve the credit of the above demonstration. They are at the Museum of Fine Arts in Worcester, and represent Saint Francis (Fig. 3) and Saint Philip (Fig. 4) there attributed to Taddeo di Bartolo.

The pre-exhibitional rite of cleaning and furbishing has nevertheless left these panels in a tolerably presentable condition. Of the two saints, the Saint Francis affords features of close, clear and convincing analogy to the Saint Louis in the altarpiece. The hanging cowl stretches the horizontal folds in the front into the same pattern. The chiaroscuro that lights large surfaces of the drapery, which slip into dark narrow grooves, functions similarly in both figures; and following the master's usual practice, a dark heavy contour cuts the edge of the stuff which falls into long, straight folds. While the hands of the Saint Francis may seem a trifle more structural and obedient to their function, the right of St. Philip with its long thumb, flat and boneless in its body and knotted at the root, is paralleled in the uppermost angel at the right of the Figline altarpiece. An ear, in which the cavity is definitely differentiated into a larger and a smaller, is common to both. The eye of St. Francis varies from that of St. Louis only by being deeply set. It glides between sharp and stiffly curved edges of two lids that look as if they were carved in ivory. Its analogy to the eye of the St. John of the S. Croce Crucifix amounts to identify. It dips downward similarly at the inner corner, where the more sinuous curve of the lower lid meets it in a point. The same eye recurs in the Crucifix at Santa Croce, where the lids join the face at an angle that emphatically marks their springing.

But the affinities extend further to the hollow shadow around the inner extremity of the eye, and if the Francis does not, the Philip does show the flesh fold under the brow that runs horizontally until it strikes the upright wall of the nose. In both the St. Francis, and the Evangelist of the Crucifix, the skin contracts over the hard shell of the forehead in a way characteristic of our master.

These demonstrations throw up peculiarities of habit of vision and of statement that distinguish still another panel, a fragment of a Crucifix (Fig. 5), a lamenting Mother of Christ in the collection of Mr. F. Mason Perkins in Lastra a Signa, near Florence.

The solid enamel noticeable chiefly in the quatrefoils of the S. Croce Crucifix; the skin moving over the large bony framework of the face, as an expressional agent, at once assimilates this work into the group here brought together. The surface has undergone treatment, chiefly at the hands of time, so different from that of the Crucifix that at first glance its superficial disparities will seem essential. The nose has the usual bluntness, the lips an animal insensibility, and they are drawn upwards at the corners into a grimace that apes that of the Virgin at S. Croce. Although Mr. Perkins' figure lacks the rusticity of type of the latter, the eyes and the muscles around them function in accordance with the same formula of expression, differing by being narrower in the former. They are similarly shaped with the same fold made by the contraction, that leaves a characteristic triangular hollow between the eye and the nose. The haggard look in the Perkins' figure produced by pushing very nearly half of the iris under the lower lid, resembles in tendency, if not in effect, the eyes of the St. Francis in Worcester. The contours that schematize the shapes with a brutal directness suggest the weight and decisiveness of the same strong hand.

In the Museum at Rennes hangs a figure in three-quarter to full-length of a King David (Fig. 6), which I know from photograph only, but which so persistently discloses the same peculiarities, and to so high a degree of refinement, that it must be by the same master. What still remains visible does so in spite of a crackle that has cut deep and wide into the surface, but the tissue it has woven over it has the same quadrilateral units as other panels of this group.

The David confronts us with features repeatedly met with in these, that declare themselves in the same planes, defined by the same heavy contour as the Evangelist at S. Croce, and the master's peculiarities of shape in the drawing of the eye and in its setting, recur in both these heads in detailed agreement, as they anticipate the lateral figures in the panel that follows.

All the tendencies that the works thus far assembled persistently relieve, converge in the Fogg Pietà (Fig. 7). If no definite name has hitherto been attached to it, this sublime panel has nevertheless attracted considerable attention. It has drawn guesses from the ad-

venturous. But all the enterprise has been sicklied o'er with a cautious vagueness, and although it is labelled as of the Italian School, I believe the most definite opinion of its origin swings between Verona and Southern France. That it is Giottesque, however, and Florentine, will appear from its affinity to a number of Florentine works with which it would logically share its local origin and school.

The total design, the pose, the bodily suggestions, the drawing of, let us say, the central figure, may seem on first view un-Florentine, and the arrangement of the holy women above the Christ and the absence of figures in front of Him, or of the usual desperate claspings, are difficult to parallel, and not in the area to which I assign the picture alone, but in all of Italy. The position of Christ may be explained by Roman precedent such as the Christ in the representation of the same subject in the Upper Church of St. Francis in Assisi.

Nevertheless, these deviations from the rule are not obstacles to my conclusion, however misleading they may initially be; they are motifs that are imitable and accordingly not essential to the style. This is profoundly Florentine and as radically Giottesque primarily for the following reasons:

1. that the squareness of the total mass in a single compositional plane produces the Giottesque sense of total weight and coherence of a facade;
2. that the relation of the total mass to the area is such as to relieve the physical presence of the figures and their action;
3. that as in Giotto and his school, there is here a plastic isolation of the individual shapes within a compositional tension;
4. that the representation resolves itself into primary action and secondary action, and by methods singularly Giottesque. The primary action is contained within the converging diagonals of the central pyramid, the secondary action may be said to be at one dramatic moment's remove from the more direct emotional response at the centre, and is represented by the two erect lateral figures, who steady the composition by their solidity and verticality, as, to take chance examples, in Giotto's Pietà and his Visitation, at Padua; or in the Obsequies of St. Francis, the Assumption of John, The Evangelist at Santa Croce.

The two protagonists, the swooning Virgin and the dead Christ, are thrown on a prominent diagonal that cuts the plane in two. This di-



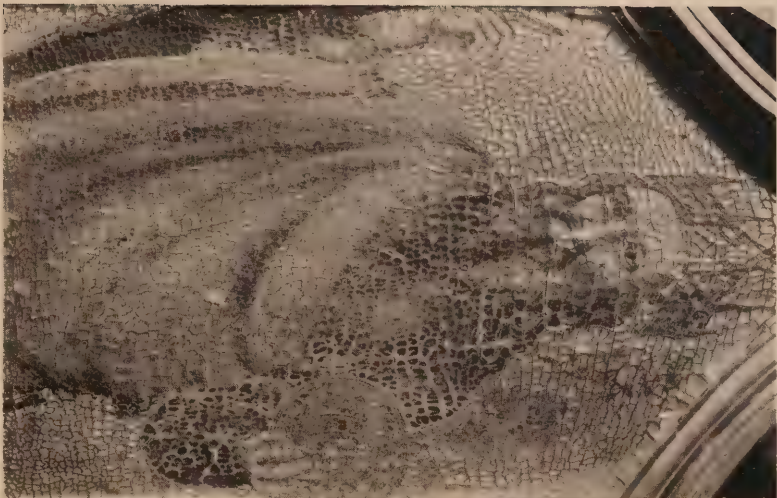


FIG. 6. MASTER OF THE FOGG PIETÀ: KING DAVID  
*Museum, Rennes*

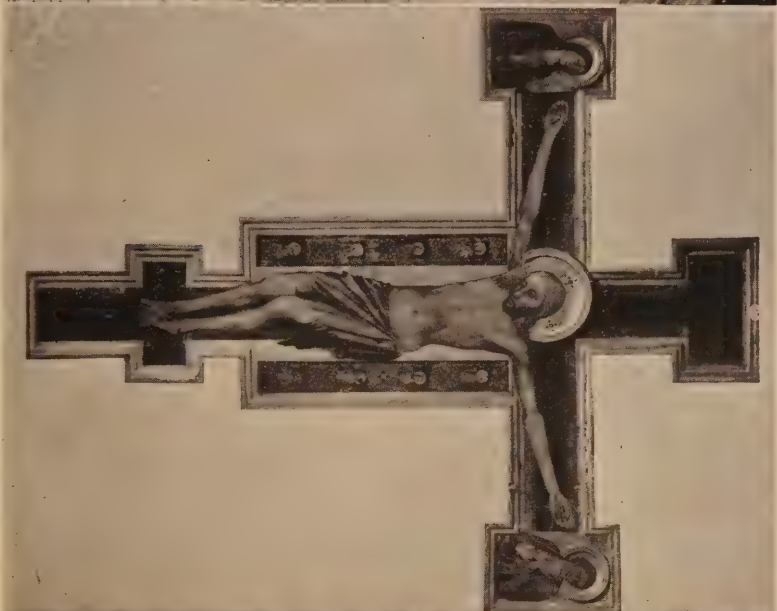


FIG. 1. MASTER OF THE FOGG PIETÀ: CRUCIFIX  
*Sacristy, S. Croce, Florence*



FIG. 5. MASTER OF THE FOGG PIETÀ: MOURNING  
VIRGIN. (FRAGMENT OF A CRUCIFIX)  
*Collection of Mr. F. Maion Perkins, Florence*



agonal descends historically from a similar line in Giotto's *Pietà* at the Arena Chapel, that carries the same function, directing the gravitation of attention upon Christ's head.

In the works thus far assembled the artistic personality is determined and differentiated by a certain eccentric energy in the statement and in shape. A large mould is outlined by the cut of a heavy contour, and a graduated light that renders the flexibility of the flesh, without its specific consistency and texture. The same large mould, the same decisive line, the same *chiaroscuro*, reappear in the Fogg *Pietà*. But if these analogies are general and instantly evident, their radical importance will proclaim itself in a confrontation of details.

Throughout, the edges of the lids run in curves that meet in a point at the inner corners, and the lids tending to detach themselves in sharp definition, show the line of juncture with the face. The jaws are wide, the nose blunt, the lips firm and hard like rubber. The facial muscles have a mechanism with an expressional mobility that elaborates the character of the bony structure. The drapery has the same texture, only a slightly lighter weight than that in previously discussed works. The hands are short and show the bone and the articulations under the flesh.

Turning to individual figures and allowing for discrepancies of scale and of condition, the holy woman at the left has a head which differs from that of the Virgin in the *S. Croce Crucifix* (Fig. 8) by being squarer in its proportion. Its mould, however, is the same, and the mantle is similarly draped over both. The mouth and eyes are distorted into a grimace betraying the same feeling, the stress of which draws the brows of the Fogg figure into a curved line like that in the Evangelist of the *S. Croce Crucifix*; and the lids converge in a sharp point at the inner corner exactly as in that figure. Both show the flesh fold over the eye that runs toward the same blunt nose. What is true of the holy woman at the left, is true of the variations upon the same type, the swooning Virgin and the Magdalen in the same panel.

The hands of the *Crucifix* again, are repeated in the Fogg panel. Thus the fingers in the left hand of the Virgin in the latter are curved like those of the Virgin in the *Crucifix*; the left of the Magdalen in the former has the shape and mechanism of the right of the Virgin, and the right of the St. Francis in the latter, while the close-fingered hands of Christ and Joseph of Arimathea reveal the same shape and structure as those in the *quatrefoils*.



The hair in the Fogg panel exhibits further analogies to the Crucifix. It is of a firm and fine fibre with a living movement in it. That of the kneeling St. John is as diverse from that of his contemporaries as it is similar to the curled hair of Christ and John in the Crucifix, only that in the larger painting it bends with the ductility of wire.

The dead Christ's head has the mould of the St. Francis at Worcester, and scalp of the St. Philip. The modulation of line and surface reveal the same bulges in all, and the same sparse fleecy beard fringes the jaws. The hair of the St. Philip grows thinly and is brushed forward as in the Fogg Museum Christ.

But however limited the revelation of these analogies may be, the Christ in the Fogg picture, by repeating the figure of the Crucified (Fig. 9) at S. Croce, furnishes a final proof of their common authorship.

The head of the former, hanging like the pitying head of John in the Crucifix, has a mute pathos worn into the hollows of the face; a face more delicately nuanced in the smaller figure and subtler in its tragic suggestions than the heroic head of the Crucifix. But the differences are those of motif, of conception, and not of type nor of style, differences fittingly incidental in each case to the discrepancy of scale. If one imagines the head of the smaller Christ more broadly formed, it will assume the look of the larger. The eyes are the same, the lids being cut and attached identically, with a crescent-shaped gap between them that swerves downward at the inner corner. These two gruesome instances of death, showing the blind eyeball behind the parted lids, isolate themselves from all other representations of the dead Christ in the Florence of the time. The foreshortened lips are perhaps closer to those in Mr. Perkins' fragment than to any other of this master's works. But if the two heads, serving somewhat different expressive ends, are variations of the same ultimate type, the bodies being less expressive agents, are nearer their original formula.

The torsos, showing the worn flesh over the fragile framework of the ribs, and a delicate slimness alike in both, are bounded by a contour that searches and accentuates the same undulations in the shape. In both, physical suffering has pulled the flesh over the prominent iliac crest and sunk it into depressions below the abdomen. The loin-cloth of the S. Croce Crucified suggests in the arrangement of vertical and diagonal folds and in its silhouette, the drapery of St. Joseph in the Fogg panel. The shaping of the right leg of the Christ in the last named picture with the flat knee and the downward tapering tibia



FIG. 8. MASTER OF THE FOGGI PIETÀ: DETAIL OF  
VIRGIN ON THE CRUCIFIX  
*Sacristy, S. Croce, Florence*



FIG. 9. MASTER OF THE FOGGI PIETÀ: DETAIL OF THE CRUCIFIED  
ON THE CRUCIFIX  
*Sacristy, S. Croce, Florence*



FIG. 2. MASTER OF THE FOGGI PIETÀ: DETAIL OF  
ST. JOHN, THE EVANGELIST  
*Sacristy, S. Croce, Florence*





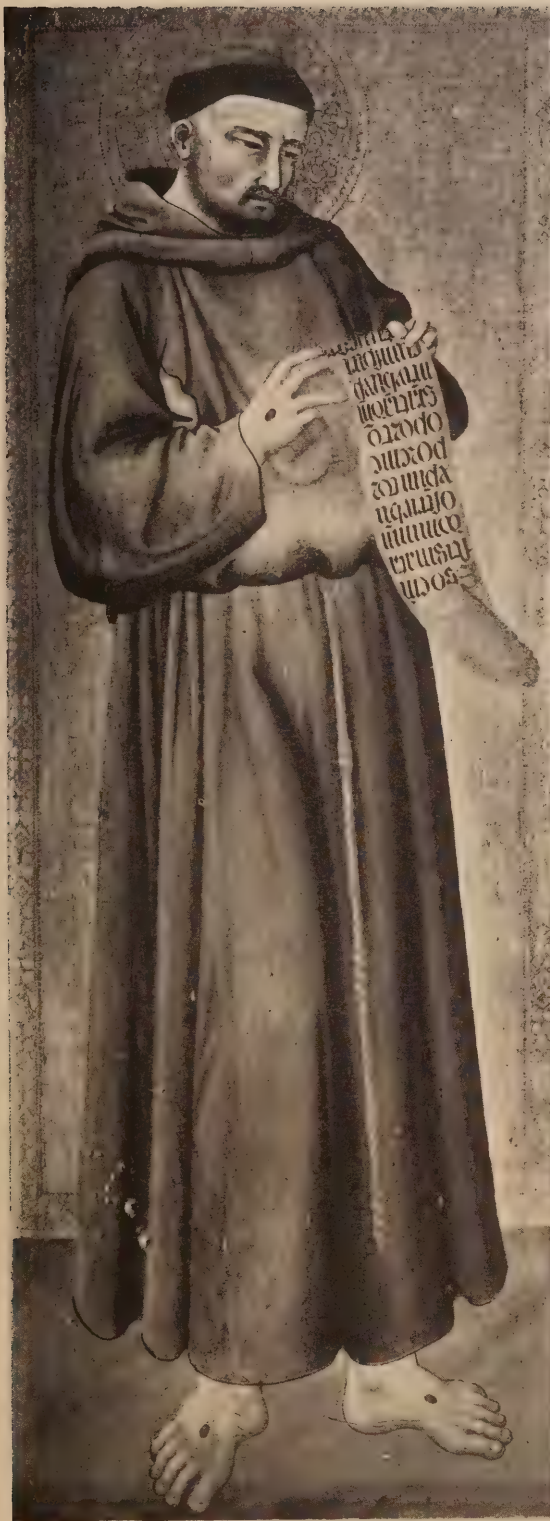


FIG. 3. MASTER OF THE FOGG PIETÀ: SAINT FRANCIS

FIG. 4. MASTER OF THE FOGG PIETÀ: SAINT PHILIP

*The Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Mass.*



below it, the projecting ankles, constitute the prominent features of the original image which served our painter in both cases.

\* \* \* \* \*

All these panels exhibit in their association not only a single hand but a common tradition and a common period. The formative influence of their master, it must be admitted, cannot be as easily ascertained, possibly because of the independence of a genius which, wanting in its supreme components, was nevertheless as original as any in Florence. It is a type of genius that sacrifices the sublime or the exquisite qualities of the greatest artists for qualities so vigorous and so individual that they urge an appraisal by standards of their own. Accordingly if he has undergone a deserved neglect beside his most illustrious contemporaries, he now makes a claim to high rank.

The meaning of his representations wins force by relieving the power of impulse above suggestions of ultimate reality or of the mystery of existence. He absorbs you by his action which is always allowed to wholly possess his figures — suggesting that level of human life in which emotion works slowly but with the certainty of instinct, and the inexorability of fate. There is accordingly a kind of primitive rudeness in his types.

His modelling is not the abstract Giottesque medium for rendering the material existence of the figure but a means also of physical and mental description. He is the only painter of the early Florentine Trecento who endows the flesh that covers the face with its proper character, consistency and its peculiar capacity for registering inner movement.

By his form, by his use of chiaroscuro, our painter sets himself apart from the body of his Florentine contemporaries. His mass, his composition, his types, however, belong to the Giottesque succession of painters; his density and emphatic statement profess affinities with Maso's frescoes in the Bardi Chapel at S. Croce in Florence, while his types recall the Master of the St. Nicholas Chapel in the Lower Church at Assisi. But in all these respects he seems to stand more closely to that group of Giotto's nameless followers and younger associates whose most notable achievements lie between the Crucifix at Ognissanti and the altarpiece in the Chapel of St. Zenobio in the crypt of the Florentine Cathedral.

It is probably in his more advanced maturity that he appropriates



certain details from Orcagna (see the Child at Figline), or from Nardo (the eyes of the Worcester St. Francis). The Romanizing features otherwise absent from the Florentine painting of the time, of foreshortened palms (in the S. Croce Crucifix), of the type of Christ in the Fogg Museum panel, point to an early part of the Trecento when Roman influence was accessible to the Florentine Giotteschi in Florence as well as in Assisi.

As has already been remarked, his composite mental picture harks back to Giotto, but certain Giottesque traits urge a straight derivation from him, and even actual contact with him. The radical type of face derives directly or indirectly from the upper figures in Giotto's altarpiece at the Uffizi where the features are similarly laid out. One will find the large noses, the same eyes, only that they are less schematically and emphatically contoured, with the fold over the lid forming the pocket so common in our master. The hair in the S. Croce Crucifix again formalizes the fine hair in the Uffizi altarpiece.

The relation of this group of panels to contemporary works, and the nature of these affinities besides, enforces the conclusion that our painter worked in Florence under Giotto's close influence during the two central decades of the Trecento, an influence which single at the outset, gave way to a growing eclecticism.

## CORRESPONDENCE

Munich, February 16, 1926.  
Ansbacher strasse 2.

Dear Dr. Valentiner:

I must inform you of a correction to be made in my article on later Roman sculptures which appeared in the last volume of your publication, that the year of the priest's death, 1256, is reckoned according to the Spanish era as I have proved by another inspection of the inscription. This unfortunate "Spanish era" is thirty-eight years ahead of the usual reckoning, which sets the death of the priest in 1218. This makes the general chronological sequence of the monuments much more plausible, when we may date this monument to be of about 1220 and the rest as later. It is important to note that both monuments must be assigned to a whole generation earlier — that is 1220 and not 1250.

With best wishes, which include our friend Haass,

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(Signed) AUGUST L. MAYER.

## NEW ART BOOKS

CATALOGUE OF A LOAN EXHIBITION OF EARLY ORIENTAL CARPETS. By Arthur Upham Pope. At the Art Club of Chicago, January, 1926.

Any serious and carefully written work upon Oriental carpets deserves the attention of both students and collectors of Oriental Art who are only too well aware how scarce, at least in English, serious literature is upon this subject.

Mr. Arthur Upham Pope has recently published a valuable and comprehensive survey of early Oriental carpets in his catalog of the recent loan exhibit held at the Art Club of Chicago. The catalog comprises a brief but an excellently written historical and critical introduction followed by a thorough analysis and description of fifty-five carpets, the greater number dating between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Twenty-nine of these carpets are Persian and include important Medallian, Animal, Ispahan, Polonaise and three rare Vase carpets, one of the latter loaned from the collection of Mrs. Edith Rockefeller McCormick.

Mr. Pope's careful study of the subject has led him to assign a more precise dating and provenance to the carpets than one generally finds in rug literature. Persian carpets, for instance, are classified in five divisions as to provenance: Medallian carpets from Northwest Persia, Animal and Floral Carpets from Kashan, Western Persia, Animal and so called Ispahans from Eastern Persia and Herat, Vase, Floral and Arabesque carpets from Central Persia and the Polonaise group from the Ispahan Court Looms. The carpets are dated within a quarter of a century, except in the cases of the large fragment of the famous Ardebil Mosque

carpet, which is itself inscribed with the date, 1539, a carpet loaned by Duveen Brothers. The general classification is geographical and is divided into six groups: Carpets from Persia; from the Eastern Caucasus; from Western Asia Minor; from Egypt, of which there is one carpet; two from Spain; and one contemporary carpet reproducing a design of a sixteenth-century velvet.

The detailed analyses of the patterns and colors, the first requisite in the appreciation of any carpet, has been done both with great accuracy and sensitiveness, displaying a genuine feeling for the poetry of Persian color and design. Data regarding material, the kind of yarn and pile, the kind of warp and weft, the type of knot together with the computation of knots to the square inch, is noted for every carpet described. Following this data is a brief critical appreciation of the carpet itself together with informative data about its provenance, weave, or its comparison with other known types.

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---

## CONTENTS

A BUST OF A BOY BY DONATELLO • BY W. R. VAL-  
ENTINER Page 181

TWO UNKNOWN PORTRAITS BY TITIAN • BY OSCAR  
FISCHEL Page 187

A COLORIST IN WATER COLOR Page 195

PAINTINGS ON THE TWO MEDIAEVAL BRIDGES AT  
LUCERNE • BY MARIE WIDMER Page 199

FRITZ BEHN • BY KINETON PARKES Page 205

THE LANDSCAPE OF BRUCE CRANE Page 211

THE PEDIGREE OF THE PRINCETON RAPHAEL  
Page 215

---

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FIGS. 1 AND 2. DONATELLO: BUST OF A BOY. TERRA COTTA  
Collection of Mr. Franklin Mott Gunther, Washington, D. C.

ART IN AMERICA *AND ELSEWHERE*  
AN ILLUSTRATED BI-MONTHLY MAGAZINE  
VOLUME XIV • NUMBER V • AUGUST 1926



A BUST OF A BOY BY DONATELLO

By W. R. VALENTINER

THE terra cotta bust of a boy<sup>1</sup> (Figs. 1 and 2) illustrated here, which is now the property of Mr. Franklin Mott Gunther of Washington, D. C., was purchased about forty years ago in Florence by its previous owner as the work of Donatello. This seems to be one of the rare cases when a traditional linking of a hitherto unknown work of art whose history cannot be traced very far back with the name of a great master is justified.

If, as we believe, this bust is really by Donatello it is of particular importance in the history of Quattrocento busts of children, as the first bust of this type which we know. Our attention is at once arrested by the curious motif of the two serpents entwined around the boy's neck,

<sup>1</sup> Traces of color seem to indicate that the bust was originally painted in a dark bronze tone. It may have been intended as a model for a bust to be cast in bronze which was never accomplished. The careful retouching with the scraper is obviously done by the artist himself and was intended to make the color more permanent. An opening in the back of the head which was later filled up with terra cotta by the artist served undoubtedly as an air hole during the process of firing.

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which is evidently an allusion to the strangling of the two serpents by the infant Hercules. The subject's name — undoubtedly Ercole — is thereby indicated and we are directly introduced into the humanistic atmosphere of Quattrocento art with its frequent mythological allusions.

This motif of the Young Hercules strangling the serpents is often encountered among Quattrocento bronze statuettes conceived in the classic manner, and frequently the pedestal is further ornamented by the later deeds of Hercules. To the best of my recollection, however, we find no example of this motif in life size sculpture, and it would of course demand extraordinary ability to adapt so curious a theme with any measure of artistic success to life size portrait sculpture.

In our bust the artist has made ingenious use of the serpent motif to strengthen the plastic values, and Donatello is at once thereby suggested. He was wont to lend a strong plastic accent to the neck or chest of his busts through the use of a knot, a portion of the garment, an upraised hand or some other device. This is particularly true of work done in his twenties and thirties, to which period we believe this bust to belong. In his "St. George" in the Bargello the cloak is drawn together in front in wide knots; in the "Laughing Cupido" of the Widener Collection a portion of the garment is drawn up in a knot under the shoulder strap; in the "St. Ludovico" in Sante Croce the prominent form of the buckle is plastically emphasized by the upraised hand and in the bust of "St. Laurentius" in San Lorenzo the garment is arranged in knot-like rolls around the neck.

In our bust, in similar fashion, the wide curves of the serpents serve to quickly and powerfully direct our glance into the depth, thus bringing the rounded form of the object to our consciousness. We realize at once that we have here to do with a great sculptor capable of monumental and at the same time concentrated effects. This is further emphasized by the construction, obviously the work of a master who knew how to combine an unusual plastic conception with portraiture. It is unfortunately not very clear from the photograph that on observing the bust in its front aspect the right shoulder is sharply advanced. Through this oblique posture of the shoulder and by the turn of the head our glance is sharply directed to the perspective. This suggestion of an encircling movement directed towards the rear is emphasized by the sidelong glance of the eyes which corresponds to the turn of the head. It is particularly in these elements that we find as-



FIG. 4. TOMMASO FIAMBERTI: BUST OF A CHILD. ALABASTER  
In the possession of Mr. Franklin Mott Gunther, Washington, D. C.



FIG. 3. TOMMASO FIAMBERTI: BUST OF A CHILD. SERPENTINE  
Collection of George and Florence Blumenthal, New York





pirations characteristic of Donatello, *a definite emergence from the relief looking toward a free plastic formation*, to be envisaged from all sides.

As a Quattrocento master, Donatello is naturally above all else a sculptor of reliefs. There is probably in the whole history of art no greater master of this plastic form. Even his free figures are in a sense figures in relief having one principal aspect, as though cut off sideways by a frame, and whose secondary aspects do not stand in uninterrupted relation to the principal aspect.

It is, however, no coincidence that Michael Angelo, the first and greatest master of free sculpture, is related to Donatello and not to the latter's successors of the second half of the fifteenth century. Like all great geniuses Donatello's vision extended far beyond the limits of his own day. While his closest followers, such as Desiderio, Rossellino and Mino da Fiesole, emphasized more than ever the relief-like character of the Quattrocento style, Donatello now and then lent to his figures powerfully plastic turns and postures which approached the conscious "kontraposto" of Michael Angelo.

We know that Michael Angelo's earliest works were in relief, a plastic form which his interest in the free figure soon led him to abandon, but it would have gone much harder with him had Donatello's example not been before him (as in his first relief of the "Madonna of the Stairs") pointing the way to the conception of the free figure.

To prove how much more closely Donatello's successors clung to the Quattrocento relief conception than did Donatello himself, we need only compare some of the children's busts by Desiderio, Rossellino and their followers with our terra cotta. These masters may have modeled more delightful children, reproduced more closely and realistically the charm of childish features, and used the utmost technical delicacy in finishing their marble surfaces. The plastic conception nevertheless is much less varied and retains always a certain formality imposed by the relief-bound flat surfaces of the Quattrocento conception.

Let us consider for example the Alabaster Bust of a Child, also in the Franklin Mott Gunther Collection (Fig. 4), and a Bust of a Child in Serpentine from the Blumenthal Collection in New York (Fig. 3), both by the same master whom De Nicola rightly designates as Tommaso Fiamberti, a follower of Rossellino and Mino da Fiesole. In addition to these two busts we would name as characteristic of this

master the children's busts in Budapest and in the Feist Collection in Berlin, in that they portray a half-length child's figure, showing both arms, while most of the other children's portraits of the period depict merely the head and shoulders. Although this more extended portrayal of the figure offered the artist a far greater opportunity for plastic movement — which Donatello in similar case would undoubtedly have made good use of — he nevertheless confined himself to a portrayal of the figure in its front aspect only, with but a slight movement of the arms, and emphasized this flat formation still further by the horizontal lines of the narrow pedestal and the thinly applied garments. So far as plastic forms are concerned, therefore, we find retrogression rather than progress in comparison with Donatello.

Where the subject is concerned, however, Donatello's successors, including Tommaso Fiamberti, made far greater concessions to public taste. A bust of a child by Desiderio or Rossellino will in all probability find greater favor with the general public than a similar work by Donatello. Unsophisticated taste is apt to demand as its first requisite that a work of art be "pretty" or "beautiful," as the case may be, in the current sense of the term, which generally involves no more than a banal regularity of feature. This is no criterion for Donatello's art, for Michael Angelo's nor for that of many another great master.

Donatello is too much preoccupied with spiritual and intellectual aspects to concern himself with the presentation of the "pretty" as a concession to the unintelligent spectator, and this characteristic severity is evident in our terra cotta bust. There is no effort on the part of the artist to flatter his model, but even in this childish portrait he reveals the secrets of personality in marvellous fashion. There is splendor in the child's domed forehead and the beautifully formed rear of the head; the lips, and the nostrils of the perhaps unbeautiful but boldly formed nose, are finely outlined, and the clear glance of the wide set eyes betrays an awakening intelligence.

The intelligence concept, objectively speaking, and the plastic conception have been worked out in this — one might almost say stubborn — theme in a manner of which only a sculptor of Donatello's genius would have been capable.

The realistic treatment of this not especially beautiful but most delightful child's head is quite in the manner of the late Roman artists, and this resemblance is not accidental. Donatello at this period was

enthusiastic about antique sculpture as his works made during, and shortly after, his sojourn in Rome prove.

There are many other details in which Donatello's characteristic traits may be noted. The short hair arranged in front in three divisions resembles exactly that of the David in the Widener Collection and that of the bronze head of Narni in the Bargello, which also offer other good points of comparison. For instance, the eyelids, as in numerous other works by Donatello, are given strong plastic emphasis; the ears are comparatively large and stand out somewhat from the head (as regards shape compare them with the ears of St. Ludovico), and all these works coincide in the sharply defined lines of the mouth which are as though sculptured in bronze. If we compare the profile we find resemblances in the formation of the finely rounded chin and the full cheeks; in the protruding upper lip and the slightly parted lips, to the relief of St. John in the Bargello, and also to the child of the Pazzi Madonna which has the same almost smooth hair enlivened here and there by a sudden wave. That the turn of the head and the consequent swelling of the throat muscles reappear in the St. George of the Or San Michele, the Cupido of the Widener Collection, the Bust of Narni and other works of this same period need scarcely be emphasized.

In general it may be said — as of all newly discovered works by great masters in which resemblances to other works by the same hand may readily be recognized — that the whole is none the less original, unexpected, and in a certain sense admits of no comparison; whereas among artists of lesser genius their work is often repetitive as regards whole portions of the composition and their newly recovered works seldom reveal any new aspects in the previous defined characteristics of their art.

## TWO UNKNOWN PORTRAITS BY TITIAN

BY OSCAR FISCHER

THE art of Titian will always retain for us a quality of unexpectedness. In the newest issue of "Klassiker der Kunst" the number of his works has been increased from 284, listed in the year 1914, to 368,



and since the appearance of this volume other works, almost every one affording an element of surprise, have been discovered on all sides.

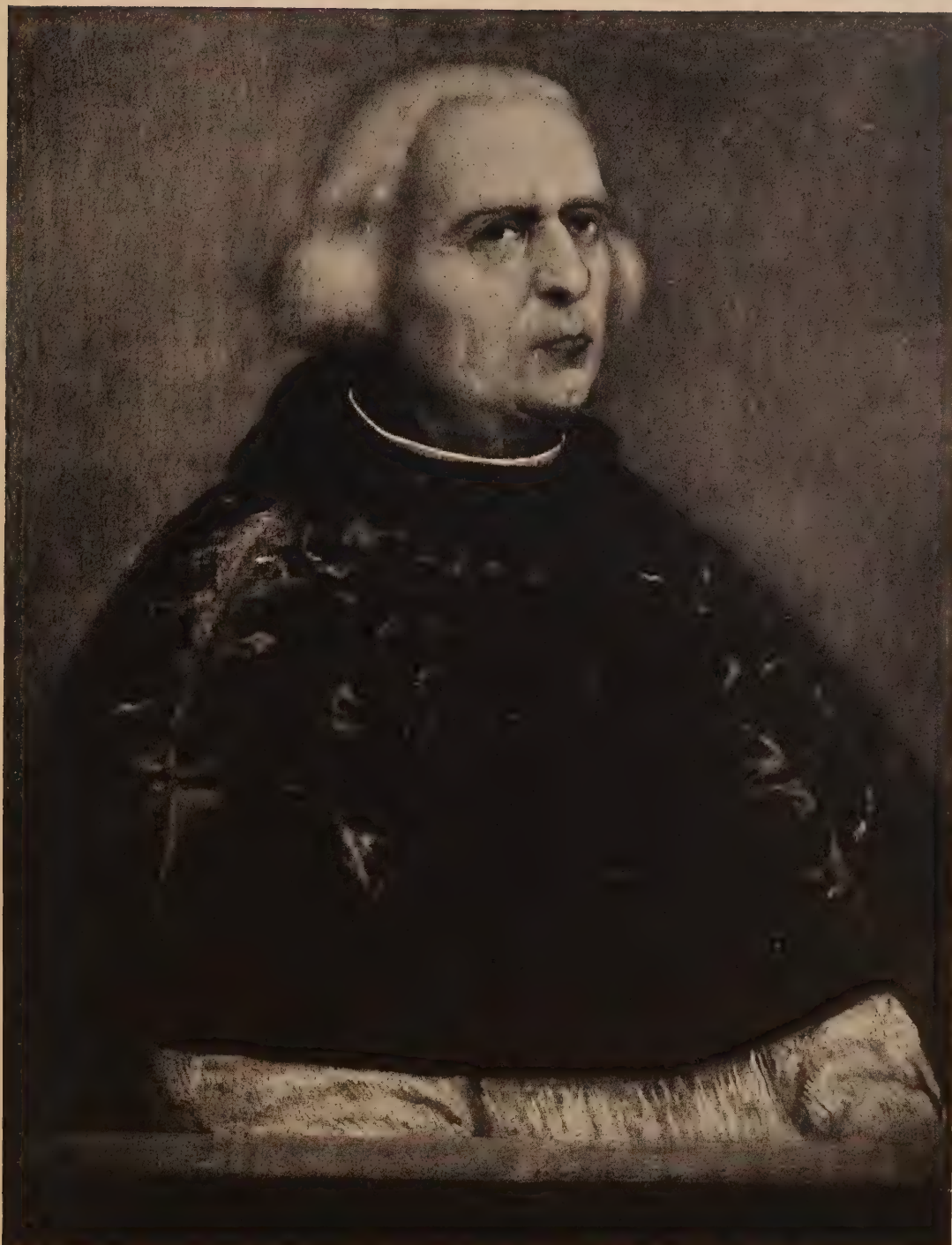
We believed ourselves to be familiar with Titian's work, and yet this old man, who at seventy years of age set out upon new paths, seems still to wish, some three hundred years after his death, to take the world by surprise. We imagined our knowledge of his work to be intimate, yet each new picture discovered is a revelation. One might affirm that the aged Titian is actually entering anew upon the road to celebrity.

Circumstance has much to do with this; still more the excitability of our eyes seeking expression in contemporary painting; and the analysis of color the "divide et impera" which in Titian's latest manner created its special effect. Many different centuries are indebted to him, and masters as sharply differentiated as Greco, Rubens, Rembrandt, Watteau and Gainsborough have followed in his traces. We may truthfully affirm that what we describe as painter's "handwriting" dates from the works of his late period — and each new discovery of one of these works gives further evidence of this fact.

It is thus the aged painter has visualized for us the old man, Bishop Francesco Gradenigo. On the highest peak of his career, elevated by his office, removed from the triviality of worldly affairs by his calling, which, however, has imposed kindness as a duty, he vouchsafes us one of the glances with which this Prince of the Church is accustomed to scrutinize and to encourage his neighbours, and also to keep them at a distance.

Here was a task worthy of a great delineator of human types, who, coming from an old mountaineer family of Cadore, had preserved all the freshness of his instincts in face of the Venetian nobility and of the great world. The dramatic story-teller who dwelled within the painter came into full play in the making of this portrait.

The turn of the glance engenders an endless play of light — on the brows and in the corners of the eyes; in the wrinkles around the lips and on the white hair. The color, overlaid with the pallid monotone of advancing years, allows the canvas background to shine through more in the manner of a drawing than of a painting, reserving its thicker spots only for the highlights. The head stands out from a wealth of olive nuances, and against the play of lines around the nose and mouth the white of the eyeballs and an occasional unruly hair are emphasized in dramatic contrast.



TITIAN: BISHOP GRADENIGO  
*Private Collection, Geneva*





This impression of palpitating life is carried on in the detail of the picture. The direct manner in which the powerful head is turned towards us brings into movement the folds of the surplice, whose white pleats are painted over the groundwork, with short rhythmic brush-strokes, producing again, at the farthest distance from the head, an impression of great mobility, which is nowhere lost in the broad zone of the red velvet collar.

A deep, cool raspberry tone lies over the play of these folds, stirred by the sitter's breath, and the light plays on their serried rows as on eddying water, enhancing the thrilling effect of the transparent red tone.

This same effect is repeated in Titian's *Self Portrait in Berlin*, which, unfinished though it be, offers the deepest insight into the artist's manner of working at that period.

Needless to say, this most dramatic of masters would not lightly have renounced the portrayal of the hands. How vividly he used them as a means of characterization is proved by another beautiful portrait now in America — which in other respects bears resemblances to the work under discussion — the portrait of Cardinal Archinto in the Altman Collection. In the present picture the figure is cut off by a balustrade, and we must recollect that it was a commission. This portrait of Bishop Gradenigo — of whom we know nothing despite the familiar-sounding name — was probably one of a series of full-size official portraits, of which a number of a more primitive nature were already in existence, making the bust form desirable for later additions to the series. The characteristics expressed elsewhere in three-quarter length portraits, through the pose of the figure and the movement of the hands, had here all to be concentrated in the head and shoulders, and the animated silhouette, the turn of the body, and all the bewildering shine and shimmer of reflections are inseparably harmonized. There is a mute vehemence of color and drawing which has much of Rembrandt in it and which is brought into a further unity by the charming original frame with its rich play of light on the bosses of its ornamentation.

Those who have familiarized themselves with the characteristics of Titian's late manner can find traces of these characteristics declaring themselves in his early work. It took this particular master a very long time to completely find himself; but the more fully we know the later Titian, the easier it is to extricate the early Titian from the confusion in which his artistic personality was involved with those of his youthful contemporaries.

The portrait of a young, dark-bearded man in the possession of Mr. Theodore Fischer in Lucerne was probably painted some twenty years earlier than the portrait of Bishop Gradenigo. At that time the master did not yet harmonize his color through reflections on the fabrics, but shadowed it to deep tones in portraits whose subjects, moreover, according to the Spanish mode, were arrayed in dark fabrics.

The dramatic elan of the painter, however, creeps through the quieter pose and more restrained color. It is this quality which betrays his hand even in those pictures which are still painted in the manner of Giorgione. Here we have a discreet and doubtless true presentation of the model's personality as he stands before us, halting beside a pedestal. His narrow fur cloak displays the front of a deep blue velvet doublet whose undersleeves are visible from the elbow down. The right hand with a brief and unemphatic gesture draws the hanging portion of the cloak's undersleeve around the body — almost with the gesture of Velasquez' "Huntsman" in the Dresden gallery. This young man, however, is not dispassionate — rather is he gentle and somewhat dreamy — although not devoid of the gracious irony characteristic of the North Italian. A vivid life flickers over his apparently quiet features, just as the flow of the blood and the beat of the pulse may be sensed in his figure.

Titian's rarest characteristics come into play here: his vivid feeling for the pulsating body whose contours through his ceaseless modification of their outline stand out in truly plastic fashion from the background. The body presents itself to us in the round because its boundaries are nowhere tightly defined. Our eyes feel around these contours. Titian had discovered that secret of the glimmering silhouette which helped Velasquez to so many of his triumphs.

Each brushstroke added to the outline helped him to lend variety to the figure, to present it interestingly, confronting us in one space with ourselves; and all this effort culminates finally in his finding the most speaking outline from which a tone from the very sauce of life in the breathing body, here a color, there a light gleams softly from the shadows.

In the fleshtones, these reflections flow with vivifying force into the thinly painted undertones, and their gleam is caught in the corners of the forehead, in the eye sockets, and is sharply emphasized near the pupil. The right hand is only sufficiently shown to indicate the closing



TITIAN: PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN  
*Property of Theodore Fischer, Lucerne*





of the fist beneath the cuff of the shirt, in the left, the nervously crushed handkerchief reflects ultra gleams of light.

The trunk is expressed in the brown of the fur and the blue and black of the fabrics, while the arm is rescued from color-eclipse in the shadows by the gleam of some narrow strips of cherry-red satin in the slashed undersleeve. The figure stands out against an empty background whose depths seem shot with gold. It has, for all its quiet appearance, a compelling life of its own, suggesting how much the portrait art of the Baroque period, with its lyric poses, owed to the example of this great descriptive genius among portrait painters. The echoes aroused in Titian's own day and among his followers by such a portrait as this bespeak his authorship almost more vividly than do the traces of an authentic signature, T I T . . . , which are still visible on the pedestal below the hand.

## A COLORIST IN WATER COLOR

**A**LTHOUGH a young man, John Whorf, the New England water colorist, has already an established reputation based upon and justified by a series of paintings of unusual quality and charm. His work is distinguished rather for color and atmosphere than for design in the sense that the latter is so dominant a feature of Winslow Homer's water colors. Indeed it is almost true that Whorf at twenty-three has already an established "style" of his own. He is distinctly a colorist in his medium, and his range runs from deep blues, violets and purples in pictures like "The Gorge," through the delicate greens and white of such a work as the "New Hampshire Landscape."

Whorf inherited his art instinct, though none of his ancestors ever really had any reputation as artists. His grandfather's artistic inclinations were thwarted by poverty and his father's by parental disapproval, though in his boyhood days he was *the* artist of his home town and later became one of the foremost of Boston's commercial artists. John Whorf was born January 10, 1903, at Winthrop, Mass., and grew up in the artistic environment of Provincetown, the American painters' summer Paradise. He studied there, at the School of the

Boston Museum and abroad, but from what I have heard of his student's work it hardly would justify any promise of his present accomplishment.

He is an impressionist — as are most moderns — and yet there is nothing vague, nothing hesitating, nothing left indistinct through fear of the inability to render it truthfully. He likes to paint sunlight, warmth and glow, yet seldom resorts to a high key for his effects. As a draughtsman he has mastered perspective, and shades and shadows, yet he wisely subordinates these things to the more important function of composition. He gets his impressions and makes his notes direct from nature. He paints, however, in his studio — away from all the actual form and color — working mostly from memory, because he feels that too close an application to any model results in confusion. Observing nature with the eye of an artist since boyhood, his mind is crowded with impressions of land, sea and sky. He knows how to select and concentrate on the main topic of a theme, and it is for this reason that his pictures are impressive.

His manner of painting shows nothing freakish, no pointillistic brush work, no posterish outlining, no exaggeration of flat-color masses, no straining for the unusual in any department of his handling, and no preference for any particular type of subject — in fact, none of the customary “ear-marks” which many painters, either consciously or unconsciously adopt, and which label their works. Yet there is a real individuality about all of Whorf's pictures and they have a striking family resemblance.

The preëminent quality of his water colors is vigor — strength of color, breadth of drawing and concentration. But however forceful his technic it is touched by a remarkable sense of freedom. For the most part he works with transparent washes but he does not hesitate to use opaque color if it fits his purpose better. Study of his paintings reveals a quick adaptability not only in controlling his wet color, but also in taking advantage of the inevitable accidentals and in saving white paper for high lights. He manages his effects with so little of manipulation that the charm of spontaneity is one of the dominating appeals of his landscapes. Of course much of his work never sees the light of public exhibition. When things don't go right sheet after sheet goes into the wastebasket and there are days when he cannot paint at all.





NEW HAMPSHIRE LANDSCAPE

*By John Whorf*



THE GORGE

*By John Whorf*



## PAINTINGS ON THE TWO MEDIAEVAL BRIDGES AT LUCERNE

BY MARIE WIDMER

ONE does not need to travel far in Switzerland to find traces of medievalism. Historic landmarks abound along the lakes, in the valleys, on the mountainside. Every region has its ruined castles and other picturesque reminders of feudal days, but among these relics of days gone by none are quite as unique, from an artistic standpoint at least, as the two old covered bridges which span the Reuss diagonally at lovely Lucerne. Several modern bridges cross this river at regular intervals, but thousands of pedestrians who but a minute ago may have reveled in the fashionable displays of nearby shops never grow tired from patronizing either the Kapell or the Spreuer Bridge with their ever delightful atmosphere of antiquity.

The Kapell Bridge was built in 1333 A.D. and recalls the time when the town did not possess a single house of stone, a feature which caused it to be nicknamed "the wooden stork's nest." As a halfway point stands the Wasserturn, an octagonal tower which originally formed part of the city fortifications. Once the safe deposit of the municipal treasury, it is now the storehouse for the town archives and documents.

A series of seventy-seven triangular tablets is placed at regular intervals beneath the roof of the bridge. They are decorated with scenes from Swiss history and from the lives of the patron saints of Lucerne: St. Leodegar and St. Maurice. Since these tablets show paintings on both sides there are 154 scenes in all which have been carefully renovated on several occasions.

The other wooden bridge, the Spreuer or Mühlen Bridge, dates back to the year 1408, and has become famous for its tablets depicting the Dance of Death. It was in the year 1611 that the Council of Lucerne decided to decorate this bridge with paintings in a similar manner as had been adopted with the Kapell Bridge.

At first it was planned to select scenes of a merry character, but since the country was visited soon afterwards by war and pestilence it was deemed proper to put in the mind of people serious thoughts and to appeal to them for a more virtuous mode of life. In the year 1652 Caspar Meglinger, a noted artist of those days, was therefore commis-



sioned to depict the instability of human life with a Dance of Death, which order he executed in a series of sixty-four paintings. The individual paintings were ordered and paid for by the patrician families of Lucerne and permission for their respective display was granted by the Council of Lucerne. While the coat of arms of the head of the house usually appeared at the bottom to the left, those of his wife were reproduced to the right and occasionally the two armorial designs were combined.

During the earlier renovations it sometimes happened that the verses underneath the pictures were changed and that the person at whose expense the restoration was made, added their coat of arms to those of the founders. The most recent renovations on both bridges have been executed strictly on the basis of historical data and as the Dance of Death scenes are of particular interest they were then photographed for the first time. However, the negatives of these pictures are shortly to be transferred to the Swiss National Museum and pictorial reproductions of this medieval Dance of Death will therefore be as rare in the future as they have been unknown in the past.

All who are acquainted with Longfellow will in this connection remember the poet's reference to this ancient bridge in Lucerne: "In almost all languages is it written — the apparition of the grim spectre putting a sudden stop to all business and leading men away into the remarkable retirement of the grave. It is written in an ancient Spanish poem and painted on a wooden bridge in Switzerland. The designs of Holbein are well-known. The most striking among them is that where, from a group of children sitting round a cottage hearth, death has taken one by the hand and is leading it out of the door. Quietly and unresisting goes the little child and on its countenance is no grief, but wonder only, while the other children are weeping and stretching forth their hands in vain toward their departing brother. It is a beautiful design in all save the skeleton. An angel had been better, with folded wings and torch inverted."

Both bridges possess a captivating charm in their unusual architecture and ancient traditions and their paintings are indeed unique decorations.



THE MEDIEVAL KAPELL BRIDGE AND WATER TOWER  
*Lucerne, Switzerland*



THE SPREUER BRIDGE AT LUCERNE, SWITZERLAND, FAMOUS FOR THE FREScoes OF THE  
DANCE OF DEATH PAINTED UNDER THE ROOF







KASPAR MEGLINGER: EXPULSION OF ADAM AND EVE FROM PARADISE  
*The Spreuer Bridge, Lucerne, Switzerland*



KASPAR MEGLINGER: THE MAN OF THE WORLD  
*The Spreuer Bridge, Lucerne, Switzerland*



## FRITZ BEHN

BY KINETON PARKES

AS SOON as modern German sculpture had wrenched itself from the bonds of the old bad classicism which had enthralled it, a wide-reaching freedom became its chief characteristic. Two main impulses dominated, and because it was a sentient thing it developed very quickly. These impulses were in the opposed directions of retaining the spirit of real classic work, and of complete license. The latter has prevailed, although the former remains in great strength and has never retrograded. The two, and their inevitable intercommunication, have resulted in a strong new growth of the art. There is no school of sculpture in the world that exceeds the German in intellectual and emotional interest and beauty of thought.

The matter of form is different, and is still controversial, as indeed it always will be where sculpture is alive. In Germany it is acutely alive in all directions, for Adolf Von Hildebrand roused the plastic artists to a sense of their mission in *Das Problem der Form*. The effect of that important essay on æsthetic is still active, and is as acutely felt by the traditional artists as by the secessionists. This is the reason why all the greater sculptors of the period in Germany cannot afford to rest. If they belong to the former it is up to them to show the latter the results of their convictions; if to the latter, they have to vindicate their new position.

It comes about, therefore, that there is a large school of plastic artists committed to a work which demands a continuous and perpetual wariness against the falling away which always happens when artists cease to think about anything but their technique; how well they can do a thing, not how great a thing they can do.

There are bound to be in so large a country as Germany, and in a country with so many art centers, a great many sculptors, and it would be difficult to say who is the greatest sculptor there; who is the best, or the best-known; who is the typical artist among them all. Von Hildebrand was a type, but since his death in 1921, there is no such outstanding figure. The three great Austrian artists, Franz Metzner, Anton Hanak and Hugo Lederer—the two latter still alive—have had the greatest influence on contemporary German work, but there is nevertheless the even stronger counteraction of the Hildebrand school.

There are Benno Elkan, Bernhard Hoetger and George Kolbe, and



each one of them is a distinctive artist, but not an all-round one; each one specializes. So in selecting a representative man the special excellences of these are not to be found, so much as an embracing talent, accomplished modelling and a regard for the truth.

There are fine figure sculptors such as Richard Engelmann and Alexander Oppler, and many makers of fine portrait statues and busts, and there is the great animal sculptor, August Gaul; Fritz Behn works in all these directions, and he carves direct in stone as do Theodor Georgii and Richard Langer, and in wood like Ernest Barlach and Joseph Hoeffler. He is a man of thought, experience and knowledge, a good all-round sculptor.

Professor Fritz Behn of Munich was born in 1878 and at twenty years of age began a two years' course at the Munich Academy so as to complete his art training. His education, however, was continued throughout the following years by a close and constant study of animal forms. For this purpose he made two expeditions to Central Africa in order to make himself acquainted at first hand not only with the forms but the habits of the quadrupeds and birds he found there. One result of his journeys and sojourns was the publication of "African Visions", a collection of fourteen lithographs of animals in action and "Haizuru: a sculptor in Africa", illustrated by sixteen drawings and a hundred photographs—a book in which the author-artist's personality emerges as does that of Gauguin in *Noa-Noa* and of Delacroix in his *Daybook*. There have been many sculptors of wild animals, not all of whom have studied them in their habitat; some of them were more concerned with the decorative effect obtainable, like the great French masters of the nineteenth century, Rude, Barye and others, and Behn is to be classed with these in the direction of their decorative effects, but as to the study of nature, with Rembrandt Bugatti, that great lover of animals for their own sake. These two men treated animals by observation as Behn has also treated the portraiture of men and women in his series of busts, and as both have treated the human form in statues and statuettes. Behn's studies in the art of sculpture were continued in Italy, but I do not know if he met Bugatti in Milan, or saw his works there or elsewhere, although the spirit in common which the works of both possess would seem to suggest such an approach.

Behn's works vary greatly in size from small bronze gazelles, buffaloes and antelopes less than a half metre on their marble bases, to



FRITZ BEHN: DIANA AND GAZELLE. MARBLE



FRITZ BEHN: LION. PORPHYRY





the life-size bronze leopard with silver spots owned privately in New York. In some he has rendered a static pose as engendered by fear, surprise or apprehension, in others a moment of arrested movement, but the larger number of studies are of the animals observed in motion, sometimes of a most violent kind, as combats between leopards and a lion's attack on a giraffe.

But Behn is by no means an animal sculptor only; he has combined animal forms with human forms and a highly dramatic and forcible example is the attack of a panther on a nude woman, in which violence of action is achieved in violation of all Lessing's precepts: the violence of the Laocöon is mere classic placidity compared with it.

In this category there are other subjects: there is a Diana in marble with a gazelle in rapid passage, life size, which renders swiftness of movement admirably and is a charming and graceful work, now in the collection of Mr. Hearst of Chicago; but an Amazon on Horseback, colossal, is of quite a different character, with reminders of the work of Mestrovic, but more naturalistic, heavy and severe, while in the Dancer in bronze there is a third style, not at all naturalistically treated, but rather following the convention adopted by most moderns who profess simplification as an end. In this case it may be justified, for we know that Behn is an accomplished artist who at call is able to produce faultless truth of form in his studies.

In spite of Behn's naturalistic method, in spite of the acuteness of his observation, there is crude realism in his work. That his portraiture, both of animals and humans, is admirable there can be no doubt, but he has, further, imparted to it his own individualistic style and produced a decorative effect, best seen perhaps in the stealthy movements of the leopard which he renders perfectly: standing, springing, creeping; in anger, in dignity, in play; stretching or standing at ease, each pose a picture of perfect line. The static pose of the life-size Tiger in plaster for bronze is treated with great simplicity, and his sitting Lion in prophry, one and a half times life-size, treated in the same way is a magnificent fellow. Simplification is seen in an advanced stage in a bronze study of a race-horse.

Of Behn's imaginative works, Love is the strangest conception: the intuition is rendered with something short of success. The idea I think is to show the strength and support that mutual love affords, and the representation is of a mechanical kind possible in bronze sculpture, but impossible in nature, and probably in any other than metallic sculptural material.

The only comparable work I know of is Rodin's *Dream*, the mechanically impossible group in which the superincumbent figure is suspended above the prone one merely by the head and feet, the former resting gymnastically upon the lower head and the latter sideways upon the upturned feet of the figure.

Behn's conception provides basic support only for the feet of the two figures, but in so doing he has provided himself with the opportunity of a fine display of simplified anatomical modelling.

An ambitious work seen in the Glaspalast at Munich is designed as a war-memorial. It consists of six reliefs, and a *Pieta* in the round, and the whole is one and a half times life-size. The *Pieta* represents a seated mother holding in her hands the dead nude body of a soldier, which flexes over her knees, the feet reaching the ground on the left, while on the right a broken sword touching the base supports the right arm and thrown-back head. There is some suggestion of Greek treatment, particularly in the female figure. The six reliefs are impressively designed on a sufficient scale to show the impressive character of the conception. The first subject is *Conflict* with three central nude figures with a Greek flavour but more violent action than the Greeks generally allowed, flanked by an array of horrid soldiers in steel hats. The inevitable terror of war is portrayed in the *Machine*: a great wheel turns with its victims who are flagellated by furious figures on either side, all male and all nude. In *Anarchy*, nude females flee from rampant lions flogged into rage by demoniacal men behind, and in *Death*, nude male figures fall incontinently from the backs of rearing horses, while others kneel and writhe on the ground, recalling some of the designs of William Blake. *Peace* is a benign female, her hands supporting her long hair, her feet resting on clouds, while at both sides of her, three figures—men and women of varying ages—kneel or bend, imploring her blessing, while in *Fruitfulness*, the last of the series, peace has been attained: figures from above bend down offering plenty over sitting figures, a male representing work, a female reclining and stretching her limbs, tired but happy, while the central figure is a half-nude mother of full body holding aloft a well-nurtured babe. The whole is a serious and sincere work of art. Another piece in relief is modelled for reproduction in terra cotta—panels of three nude female figures representing musical tempos. Behn has modelled a good deal in terra cotta and his *Europa* in this material is a bold work, and almost as striking is a *Bull* alone. In bronze his *Europa* is interesting

and graceful, more fanciful, and the figure softly modelled but not so simplified as the Dancer, but resembling the Diana.

Allied to the work in terra cotta is that designed for reproduction in majolica; figures and portraits and studies of dogs, elephants and other animals, and Behn has made portrait busts in terra cotta, and carved them direct in wood, an example of the latter being the portrait of Professor E. von Seidl.

The Archer is a terrific anatomically treated figure: a nude male with a very ugly face, 230 c.m. high, drawing a bow in order to shoot a rhinoceros advancing towards him. There are two such figures, and the whole forms a sketch for a great Rhinoceros Fountain which has yet to be carried out. Smaller groups are the sketches in bronze about 30 c.m. high, The Surprise and The Sudden Attack, men and women in violent action, and action of a milder character is developed humorously in a Dancing Nigger, and a Dancing Boy, and with considerable simplification in a Girl Dancer.

Works on a large scale are the grave memorials and the fountains, and one of the former is an Urn, with carved reliefs on the base below, to Felix Mottl at the Waldfriedhof, Munich, another is to Heinrich Beck at the Waldfriedhof, Stuttgart. In the Ausstellungspark at Munich is the colossal stone equestrian group Force: a great bearded figure carrying a mass of rock on his shoulders and mounted on an immense bull.

Behn's work represents the normal and the general in Germany, the compromise between the neo-classicism of von Hildebrand and the license of the new school.

## THE LANDSCAPE OF BRUCE CRANE

IN composition the recent canvases of Bruce Crane offer less in the way of variety than those of twenty years ago. He now devotes himself almost exclusively to designs of a single type. Some of these he succeeds in making into pictures of real charm. Though he confines himself to a single theme as it were, and though there is a sort of sameness about all of his later works, he is in a way a master of American landscape. His pictures, however, are obviously the product of limited



powers of observation and expression and therefor never likely to rank with those of the greater American masters.

So much of the poetry of nature as one finds in Crane's landscapes is realized in the enveloping atmosphere and in a sensitive interpretation of elusive and evanescent effects of the mists of early morning and of the afternoon hazes that drape the hills with silvery veils or fill the valleys with delicate gold. Sometimes, it seems to me, he refines our American landscape to where it comes perilously close to seeming artificial and unconvincing—so much of the rough, vigorous and vital element in it is hidden in his atmospheric rhapsody. His pictures at times are a trifle thin, attenuated and effeminate in effect. The basic elements of landscape, which sometimes he neglects, Lawson and others use as the foundations for their finest creations.

Within his limitations, however, Crane is a painter of enough real merit to warrant our attention. One will find in his variations upon his chosen theme subtle harmonies of tone and of values that are always pleasing to a sensitive eye and a receptive mind. He uses color sparingly and his effects are secured through a conscious elimination of whatever of the realism of nature interferes with the composition of his atmospheric poem. His technic, particularly in so far as his handling of pigment is concerned, is decidedly "modern" without, however, being at all "mannered." He appreciates and interprets more than a little of the reality of nature but without emphasizing anything of the unusual in our native landscape. Everyday scenes—the woodpile in the back lot, ploughed fields, an old stone fence, the morning mist in the hollows—suffice for the subject matter of his canvases. Those who care for "homey" pictures, whose hearts are forever turning back to "the old days on the farm," find real satisfaction in his works. They preserve something of the sense of freedom that we associate with "the back-country," the smell of fresh cut wood and the dewy, mist-jewelled atmosphere of treasured days of youth.

Personally I consider any painter a real artist who does even one sort of picture well, whether I like the kind of picture or not, and therefor I rank Crane with the few better American landscape painters of today. While his pictures seldom rise to real importance they are not often definitely disappointing.

His earlier work has little or nothing of the "quality," as painting, that is found in his later productions. It has, however, an agreeable



BRUCE CRANE: THE FROZEN POND



BRUCE CRANE: LANDSCAPE





variety in the way of composition and, at times, intimations of mood and emotion that stir one mildly.

One of the best of his works is the large gray-brown hillside now in the William T. Evans Collection at the National Gallery of Art at Washington — a canvas of which I heard the late Francis Murphy say to some fellow artists, as he stood before it at a Lotus Club exhibition some years ago, "There is the best landscape in the room." It is not a popular sort of picture at all, and it took an artist, I imagine, to fully appreciate how much of truth there is in it for all its barrenness and colorlessness.

## THE PEDIGREE OF THE PRINCETON RAPHAEL

The Editor of ART IN AMERICA, Sir:

It may interest your readers to learn that the Princeton Raphael, discussed by Professor Mather in your February number, has quite an exalted pedigree.

The earliest record of it occurs in the *Catalogue d'une riche collection de tableaux . . . qui composent le cabinet de feu son altesse sérénissime monseigneur le prince de Conti* (Paris, 8 Avril, 1777, p. 4, no. 8):

"La Sainte Vierge tenant un voile qui couvre l'enfant Jésus que Saint Jean regarde.

"Ce tableau dans lequel on trouve des beautés, est estimé être de Raphael; il est peint sur bois, hauteur 4 pieds 1 pouces, largeur 3 pieds 6 pouces."

At the sale the picture was withdrawn. A contemporary note in a catalogue in my possession states that "Le prince de Conti retira ce tableau de la vente pour le garder."

We next find it in the Duc de Choiseul's collection: *Catalogue d'une précieuse collection de tableaux . . . provenant du Cabinet de M. le duc de Ch . . .* (Paris, 10 Decembre 1787, p. 5, no. 1: sold for 500 francs to Le Brun):

"Pietro Vannucci, dit le Perrugin. La Vierge tenant un voile qui couvre l'Enfant Jésus endormi, et que Saint Jean regarde. Ce tableau offre un dessin si correct, un style si noble et une exécution si précieuse, q'on l'avait attribué à Raphael: il étoit cité no. 8 du Catalogue de la vente de Mgr. le Prince de Conti, et n'a pas été vendu. Hauteur 49 pouces, largeur 42. Bois."

The picture then passed to England where it was seen in 1802-1803 by C. A. G. Goede in the possession of Welbore Ellis Agar. There is no doubt as to the identity of the painting, for Goede positively states it to have come from the Choiseul collection (*Memorials of nature and art collected on a journey in Great Britain during the years 1802 and 1803, translated from the original German by Thomas Horne*. London. 3 vols., 12mo; or German edition, vol. IV, p. 74). It is quoted from Goede by Passavant, *Raphael*, French translation, II, p. 110, n. 83, b.

As for the Ellis Agar collection, it was catalogued for sale at Christie's on May 2, 1896, and bought *en bloc* by Lord Grosvenor for 30,000 guineas (W. Roberts, *Memorials of Christie's*, I, p. 75).

The picture at Grosvenor House was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1871 (no. 286) and at the New Gallery in 1894 (no. 245).

Believe me, etc.,

SEYMOUR DE RICCI.

Paris, rue Boissière 18

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---

## CONTENTS

A BOLOGNESE MINIATURE BY NICCOLO DA BOLOGNA · BY WILLIAM MATHEWSON MILLIKEN

Page 219

GIOVANNI FATTORI · BY OLIVER S. TONKS

Page 223

“THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI” AND THE “HOLY TRINITY” BY THE MASTER OF THE “HEILIGE SIPPE” (HOLY KIN) · BY GABRIEL DE TEREY

Page 231

DAVID · BY JAN TOPASS

Page 240

TOULOUSE LAUTREC · BY HENRI HERTZ

Page 250

CORRESPONDENCE

Page 261

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## INDEX OF AUTHORS

BANKS, MIRIAM AMY

A NEBUCHADNEZZER TAPESTRY IN PROVIDENCE . . . 148

BERENSON, BERNARD

AN EARLY SIGNORELLI IN BOSTON . . . . . 105

BOOKS, NEW ART . . . . . 34, 177

BYE, ARTHUR EDWIN

TWO UNPUBLISHED PICTURES BY PIETER AERTSON . . . 154

CORRESPONDENCE

AUGUST L. MAYER, 177. SEYMOUR DE RICCI "THE PEDIGREE OF THE PRINCETON RAPHAEL," 215. ARTHUR ULYSSES NEWTON "THE PRINCETON RAPHAEL," 261

EASTMAN, ALVAN C.

A VOTIVE TABLET FROM GANDHARA . . . . . 3

FISCHEL, OSCAR

TWO UNKNOWN PORTRAITS BY TITIAN . . . . . 187

HERTZ, HENRI

MANET . . . . . 9

RENOIR . . . . . 44

TOULOUSE LAUTREC . . . . . 250

HOPE-JOHNSTON, JOHN

SOME NOTES ON AN EXHIBITION OF BRITISH PAINTING . . 87

LONGHI, ROBERTO

THE CLIMAX OF CARAVAGGIO'S INFLUENCE ON GUERCINO . 133

|                                                             |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| MATHER, FRANK JEWETT, JR.                                   |     |
| THE PRINCETON RAPHAEL . . . . .                             | 73  |
| MAYER, AUGUST L.                                            |     |
| SOME LATE SPANISH ROMANESQUE SCULPTURES . . . . .           | 56  |
| A SELF-PORTRAIT BY VELASQUEZ . . . . .                      | 101 |
| MILLIKEN, WILLIAM MATHEWSON                                 |     |
| A BOLOGNESE MINIATURE BY NICCOLO DA BOLOGNA . . . . .       | 219 |
| OFFNER, RICHARD                                             |     |
| THE MASTER OF THE FOGG PIETA . . . . .                      | 160 |
| PARKES, KINETON                                             |     |
| FRITZ BEHN . . . . .                                        | 205 |
| ROSENBERG, JACOB                                            |     |
| "THE JEWISH CEMETERY" BY JACOB VAN RUISDAEL . . . . .       | 37  |
| SHERMAN, FREDERIC FAIRCHILD                                 |     |
| TWO UNPUBLISHED PAINTINGS BY ALBERT PINKHAM RYDER . . . . . | 23  |
| W. GEDNEY BUNCE . . . . .                                   | 80  |
| A COLORIST IN WATER COLOR . . . . .                         | 195 |
| THE LANDSCAPE OF BRUCE CRANE . . . . .                      | 211 |
| DE TÉREY, GABRIEL                                           |     |
| "THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI" AND THE "HOLY TRINITY"          |     |
| BY THE MASTER OF THE "HEILIGE SIPPE" (HOLY KIN) . . . . .   | 231 |
| TONKS, OLIVER S.                                            |     |
| GIOVANNI FATTORI . . . . .                                  | 223 |
| TOPASS, JAN                                                 |     |
| DAVID . . . . .                                             | 240 |



UNUS, WALTER

|                       |    |
|-----------------------|----|
| CARL MILLES . . . . . | 26 |
|-----------------------|----|

VALENTINER, WILHELM R.

|                                                    |     |
|----------------------------------------------------|-----|
| AN UNKNOWN STATUETTE OF THE MADONNA                |     |
| BY NICCOLO PISANO . . . . .                        | 60  |
| TWO EARLY SELF-PORTRAITS BY REMBRANDT . . . . .    | 117 |
| UNGLAZED TERRA COTTA GROUPS BY ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA | 120 |
| A BUST OF A BOY BY DONATELLO . . . . .             | 181 |

WIDMER, MARIE

|                                                   |     |
|---------------------------------------------------|-----|
| PAINTINGS ON THE TWO MEDIAEVAL BRIDGES AT LUCERNE | 199 |
|---------------------------------------------------|-----|

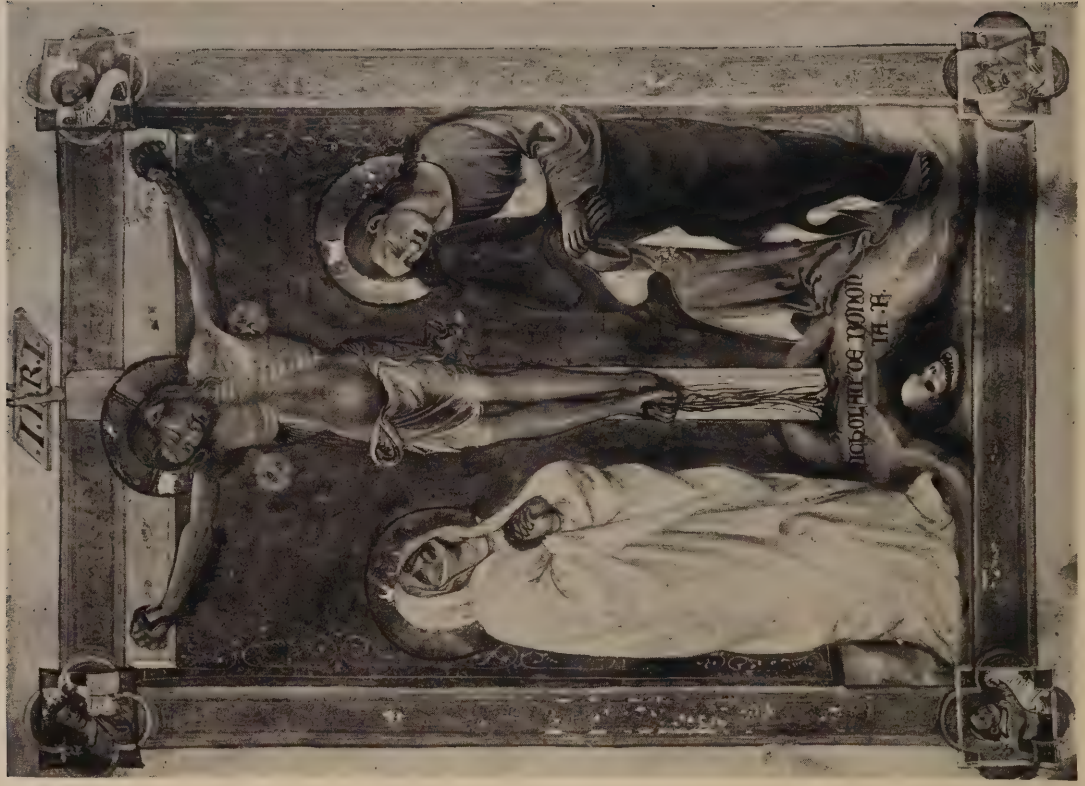








NICCOLO DA BOLOGNA: ILLUMINATED PAGE  
*The Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio*



NICCOLO DA BOLOGNA: ILLUMINATED PAGE  
*Mariana, Venice*

ART IN AMERICA *AND ELSEWHERE*  
AN ILLUSTRATED BI-MONTHLY MAGAZINE  
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A BOLOGNESE MINIATURE BY NICCOLO  
DA BOLOGNA

By WILLIAM MATHEWSON MILLIKEN

**B**OLOGNA is an exception to a general rule. Elsewhere, illuminated miniatures, the illustrations of the Middle Ages, were usually made as decorations for liturgical books, and were painted by monks in monasteries; but in Bologna the miniatures were used more often in books of Jurisprudence or in the statutes of various societies of the arts, and the majority were illuminated by laics. This is a case, and an interesting one, where the artist acts as the servant of an actual need and is called into being to fulfill that need. And this is a further proof that art cannot be fostered if it is not an economic necessity.

Bologna was one of the great centres of learning in the Middle Ages. Her university, particularly famed for its courses in law, drew students from all over Europe; and the necessity for textbooks created a demand for many copies of the codices required by professor or student. It was

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as a by-product of this and in response both to local calls and to orders from distant parts of Europe that the codex de luxe, with illuminated miniatures, came into being. Today many of these manuscripts of Bolognese provenance are preserved in European libraries or in the private collections of bibliophiles.

Bolognese miniatures have been well studied. The basic works upon which this article is grounded, and which are necessary for any further study, are given in the bibliography in the notes below.<sup>1</sup>

A large number of illuminations, which date to the first half of the fourteenth century, are extant; but the period of greatest production and of the greatest artistic quality coincides with the life and work of one man, Niccolo da Bologna, in the second half of the same century.

The facts of Niccolo da Bologna's life are rather fully known. He was born, the son of Giacomo di Nascimbene della Capella of San Procolo, in Bologna sometime toward the end of the first twenty years of the fourteenth century. On April 13, 1369, he married Uliana di Paolo di Duzolo. He was made Podesta of Zappolino in 1383, and in 1386 was put in charge of the collection of certain taxes. In the *Libro dei Creditori del Ponte* of 1395 he is reported as owning eight pieces of land. He is named executor of the will of the painter Simone di Filippo di Benvenuto on the tenth of June, 1399. In the same year, on December first, he made his own will, leaving two houses in Bologna and nine pieces of land of an estimated value of 511 lire, then a goodly sum. This is the last notice the texts give of Niccolo; but it is certain that he had already died by the year 1402, so that his death must have followed closely upon the making of his will.

Artistically almost as much is known. Niccolo had the fortunate habit of signing a large proportion of his work, and from signed work definite attributions can be made. Also from actual dated miniatures,

<sup>1</sup> Carta, "Codici corali e libri a stampa miniata della Biblioteca Nazionale di Milano."

L. Testi, "La Storia della Pittura Veneziana." Vol. I, p. 521.

Neuwirth, "Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft." IX Band, 1886, pp. 383-409.

Adolfo Venturi, "Archivio Storico dell'Arte." Vol. II, 1889, p. 91.

Catologo Collezione Paar, A. Befani Roma, 1889.

F. Malaguzzi Valeri, "Atti e memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia patria per le Romagne."

Serie III, Vol. XI, 1893, p. 125. "Codici miniati di Nicolo di Giacomo e della sua scuola."

F. Malaguzzi Valeri, "La Collezione nell'Archivio di Stato di Bologna" in "Archivio Storico dell'Arte." Vol. VII, Part I, 1894.

F. Malaguzzi Valeri, "Niccolo da Bologna — Archivio Storico Italiano." Serie V, Tomo XVIII, 1896, p. 242.

Lisetta Ciaccio, "L'Arte," 1907, p. 105. Appunti intorno alla miniatura Bolognese del secolo XIV.

Mariano Carlo Frati, Bolletino Bibliografico, Firenze, Olski, 1914."



dated books, and exterior evidence, a partial chronology can be arranged. Neuwirth points out that the *Liber sextus decretalium cum apparatu Joannis Andree*, in the Library of St. Florian, although unsigned, must be by him. It must be earlier than 1342, for it was made for a certain nobleman who died in that year. The first book, however, actually signed and dated is 1351. In the Vatican library is one of two years later with a large miniature signed "Ego Nicholaus de Bononia feci anno Domini milleximo trecentesimo LIII tercio mensis iunii."

There are also many books later in date signed Nicolaus F., such as the *Libro dei Creditori del Monte* of 1394 and the *Libro dei Creditori del Monte* of 1395 both preserved in the Archivio di Stato at Bologna. Related to these in style and date are a group of Antiphonaries marked B,C,D,E,F,G, and H in the Museo Civico there.

A remarkably fine miniature was recently given to The Cleveland Museum of Art by its former President, the late J.H. Wade. The subject is the Crucifixion, with the figures of the Virgin, the Magdalen, and St. John on a ground of gilded arabesques. At the bottom is the signature of Nicholaus F. The leaf probably came from the collection of the Austrian ambassador to Italy, Count Paar, who disposed of it in Rome in 1889. It compares exactly with the miniature in that collection described and commented on by Adolfo Venturi.<sup>2</sup> Whether its provenance actually can be decided or not, it is certain that this acquisition of the Cleveland Museum should be ranked among the finest productions of Niccolo da Bologna's brush. He was an uneven artist, and as L. Testi says often, "nodded like Homer"; but this time assuredly he did not nod. There are in it qualities of style, force, and directness which rank it with the master works mentioned above, done in the last decade of the fourteenth century and preserved in the Archivio di Stato or the Museo Civico of Bologna.

The Cleveland page is signed Nicholaus F. It is an interesting fact, which has seemingly passed unnoticed, that the overwhelming majority of the signed examples of his later work bear this signature. The earlier ones add "de Bononia" (from Bologna). It is as if upon achieving fame, he had discarded the unnecessary addition to his signature.

Similarities of treatment are marked throughout Niccolo's work. He never was an extremely original artist, and repeated many times

<sup>2</sup> Work cited: "Archivio Storico dell'Arte," 1889, p. 91. The catalogue for this Paar sale cannot be located in the libraries in Rome, the Biblioteca Marziana at Venice, the Bibliotheque National at Paris, or the Library of the British Museum.

almost the identical motives used before. A book preserved in the Martiana at Venice,<sup>3</sup> formerly belonging to the church of S. Giovanni e Paolo, has a very beautiful page representing the Crucifixion, somewhat similar to the Cleveland leaf. It is signed Nicholau' de Bononia F.

It is desired to reproduce this miniature here so that comparison may clarify the production of the man. Upon a close examination, the Venetian piece does not seem quite so fine in actual details. All the lines are a trifle coarsened, and the proportions shortened. In color, however, it is similar except that the central scene is placed against a solid background of deep blue, as contrasted with the gilded ground of arabesques in the Cleveland piece. This Venetian leaf is also simpler and more rudimentary in design. The Magdalen and the angels do not appear. It is as if it was the earlier conception of an idea later much elaborated. Another Crucifixion, in a missal belonging to Lord Aldenham,<sup>4</sup> is also signed Nicolau' de Bononia F., and although likewise early in date shows the added figures which appear in the Cleveland example. However, again the Aldenham book lacks the amplitude of the Cleveland miniature, in which Niccolo has gone further in rhythmical design and in a surer space relationship. The figures in the latter, also, especially the crucified Christ, have a subtlety and profundity of characterization which Niccolo rarely reached and the arabesque ground is carried throughout in his best manner.

What are the main characteristics of the man as they appear in these two illustrations and throughout his work? They can be summarized briefly. The proportions are usually a trifle short. The color is cold, whitish and leaden in the flesh tones. Only in connection with the reds, blues, and golds of robes and backgrounds does a full-bodied feeling for color appear. The eyes are elongated, the effect accentuated by the line of the eyebrows; the hands and feet are puffy and badly drawn; the heads are rather flat; the mouths are large and cavernous; and the ears are characteristically placed far back on the head. The drapery has the same parallel folds resolving themselves into many little folds of zig-zag character. The compositions have nearly always the same disposition of figures. While all this is true, it must be recognized that the compositions Niccolo has chosen and repeated are extremely effective; that the expressions upon many of his faces and the expression of the figures as a whole are often really grandiose in quality; that the color

<sup>3</sup> A Missale, Ord Praedicatorum, Latin 11, III cod. 97 (2115).

<sup>4</sup> Burlington Fine Arts Club, Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts, 1908, pl. 120, no. 177.

has a rare distinction; and that the psychological import of the whole makes them worthy of being classed with the finest primitives of their time.

Certainly the Cleveland leaf may be ranked as among the most complete creations of the last ten years of his life, a few years later than the Crucifixion of the Martian Library in Venice. Unlike many of his later works, the Wade gift is not hurried in execution nor has it the large leonine mouths so often unpleasant in character. The background of golden arabesques upon a brownish base the artist has taken from earlier Bolognese models, just as he has taken the other elements of his art; but he has developed it completely, just as he has developed them completely. Certainly this unpublished miniature, here under consideration, sums up all the best elements in Niccolo da Bologna's art, just as *he* sums up the quality of Bolognese miniature painting in the last half of the Trecento.

## GIOVANNI FATTORI

BY OLIVER S. TONKS

**L**AST winter Florence held an exhibition of the work of Giovanni Fattori. It was a centenary show held to honor a notable artist who died in 1908. This article is written because he should be better known in America.

Too many think that Italian painting ended with the Renaissance. It did not, for the obvious reason that a people cannot terminate its artistic life without itself passing out of existence. Certainly the Italian race has not done this. What actually happened is that, after the flaming days of the Renaissance, art, emotionally exhausted, fell into the hands of the Academicians who there, as elsewhere, turned their faces almost exclusively toward desolate, scholastic accuracy.

A similar situation had developed in France. But there the cold grip of the Academician quickly loosened under the successive impact of romanticist and realist. The main distinction between France and Italy is that, in the former land, men like Delacroix and Courbet came



to the rescue of art before any Italian awoke to the need of salvation. By 1850 French artists, by and large, had mighty little use for the Academy.

In Italy on the other hand the realists, or better, the non-academic group, were much more in the minority. Even more than in France they were the rebels. The Academy was still in control, sending out from Rome its antique problems and compelling its young disciples to depict the long-dead sorrows of ancient Greek or Roman.

Yet it was impossible for the brave adventures of the French to go entirely unnoted. Certain fiery young Italians fulminated against the artificiality of the Academy. Appreciative of the need not only of forthrightness but also of living themes they scoffed in ribald terms at the still-born classical subjects, and with an approximation to the simplicity of Courbet, reduced their pictures of contemporary material to an arrangement of simple planes and masses of color. These masses, spots, or *macchie* gave to these men the name *Macchiaioli*. In a measure they are brothers-in-blood of the post-impressionist, or rather of Courbet and his potent simplicity.

This break with the Academy in Italy came about much in the same way as in France. It was the manifest insincerity of cold, learned classicism that first irritated the Italian youth. Hecuba's sorrows and Niobe's tears were too remote to move them. They themselves were very much alive and they wished to deal with living things.

Generally speaking Giovanni Fattori kept step with these saucy rebels in so far as at heart he was undisturbed by the adventures of Brutus or the Horatii. But up to about 1850 he still was fooling with Medicean or antique themes. As concerned the matter of smooth, academic technique he was as fire-eating a *Macchiaiuolo* as any.

How much truth there may be in the idea, at least Fattori himself believed he had been eventually saved from the embrace of romanticism by Nino Costa. This apostle of modernism, about 1850, found Fattori at work on some musty Medicean theme. Stung by Costa's irony he forthwith started upon a modern military picture dealing with the Battle of Magenta.

By this work he definitely cut loose from the dead past; and for many years these military canvases — some of impressive size — held his attention. Judged by this type of painting Fattori might easily be mistaken for an Italian Detaille. But so to write him down would be to belittle one of the outstanding figures in the history of Italian paint-



GIOVANNI FATTORI: COUSIN ARGIA  
*Formerly in the Collection of Signor Mario Galli, Florence*







GIOVANNI FATTORI: HORSES IN SUNSHINE  
*Collection of Signor Mario Galli, Florence*



ing. With military and episodic artists the world is oversupplied. Fattori is more than that, for had he done naught else he would have remained a romanticist — who after all is technically an academician. For the Academy Fattori had very little use. Rather it was the academic viewpoint he despised, since in later life he was a professor in that venerable institution. Even at that his chief delight seems to have been to transgress all the accepted methods of instruction in that factory of art.

Fattori affiliates with that division of the impressionist, post-impressionist group in France which excludes such men as Monet and Sisley but includes Manet and Cezanne. There is even almost something of Van Gogh in his make-up. Of that later.

The bond that binds Fattori in style notably to Manet and Cezanne is his urge toward simplicity. He shows the same elimination of unnecessary modelling that makes Manet so apparently, yet so exasperatingly, simple. Still he did not ape the Frenchman. He no more copied him than he did Cezanne. In fact, while he has much of the seeming simplicity of the former, he possesses no less the solidity of the latter. If at one time he could paint *à la Manet* he could as easily portray his friend Diego Martelli at Antignano as elementally as Cezanne. So far as solidity goes his "Black Cow" might have been done as well by Cezanne as Fattori.

To call the Italian the follower of either Frenchman is foolish. He is rather the epitome of the various aims of the many Frenchmen who moved toward sincerity along different paths. But where each of these northerners rode his particular hobby persistently Fattori paints now this way now that according to his mood.

It is as if in this amazing Italian we have concentrated the sturdier ideals of the brave days of French painting. Nor were these ideals consciously adopted. Whatever Fattori wrought in the way of carrying out his purpose he did under the urge of his own soul. Above all he loved simplicity; but he demanded that this simplicity should be basically sound and structurally correct. Possibly it was the lack of this clear-cut definition which made him abominate many of the Impressionists of France. With sanity he recognized that good drawing is as much now as ever "the probity of art."

Fattori is never pretty; nor, by the same token, is he ever raw. His color is refined. At times it may be warm and mellow, again it may blaze with light like Sorolla's. He can paint with grace, witness



"Cousin Argia," but he can also paint with force. His ploughing oxen swinging uphill show him more himself than ever.

Painting at times with the savage satire of Goya — at times with the bareness of Degas — or analysing character in his portraits with unsurpassed interpretative power, always a student of the problem of light comparable with the best of the moderns, and having something of the essential simplicity of Millet, Fattori gathers up in himself the best that Italian art has had to say in the last century.

It is to be regretted that when a young man his lack of sympathy with the Academy left him unconscious of those elementary laws of decent composition which every tyro of that institution might have learned. This lack of coördination remains a defect in his style — reminding one of Sorolla in that matter. Nor do his remarkably accurate sketches and beautiful drawings compensate for it altogether.

Fattori's life is the traditional story of genius. Practically unappreciated by the general public, yet the admiration of his peers, his was an existence of poverty. He could too well remember the early days, when, in the joy of paying for his studio a whole month in advance, he danced and sang around the room in a delirium that finally led him to demonstrate his sense of complete proprietorship by spitting high on the walls to show that the room was his own, his very own, for a whole month. How he lived is a question: for the long list of remarkable likenesses which he painted were not for the gentry, or even commissioned; they are merely the portraits of his family and friends, painted, like so many of the portraits of Rembrandt in his later years — merely to practice his art.

Yet, fixed in his purpose to paint the things as he saw them, Fattori has helped to redeem Italian art from the slough of stale academism and ineffective prettiness. His style is manly, robust and sane. The only regret is that his greater glory comes to him after his death.

“THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI” AND THE “HOLY  
TRINITY” BY THE MASTER OF THE  
“HEILIGE SIPPE” (HOLY KIN)

BY GABRIEL DE TÉREY

DURING the last years we have often heard of pictures leaving their old homes in European galleries, crossing the Atlantic, and finding new abodes in private or public collections of the United States. It goes without saying that such expatriations only took place after the war and from the three defeated Central European States. Sales of pictures from the collections of those countries were generally followed by animated controversies. And yet such transactions are easy to explain: the financial resources of the museums were reduced to a minimum, in the same proportion as their purchasing power decreased, prices rose, and yet there were plenty of unfulfilled wishes. All important museums have reserves, many of them containing pictures of high excellence, by masters already well represented in the collection. Most of the exported paintings were sold from the reserves, only on rare occasions were they taken from the walls of the galleries. Thus Bastiano Mainardi's "Portrait of a Cardinal" from the collection of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin passed to Colonel Friedsam of New York. The Wardens of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum were willing to part with this panel because the museum possessed no less than four paintings by the same master, and the sale enabled them to make a new purchase.

The tidings reached us a short time ago that the Metropolitan Museum had acquired a picture by the master of the "Heilige Sippe," which used to be an ornament of the "Alte Pinakothek." A well-known Munich art dealer obtained the panel towards the end of 1925 by way of exchange, and sold it to the Metropolitan Museum. When rearranging the "Alte Pinakothek" in the year 1911 Director General Hugo von Tschudi, of revered memory, had placed it in the reserve, together with many other paintings of different schools, and only exhibited one picture by the master of the "Heilige Sippe," the big Triptych, representing the Circumcision in the middle piece, three male and three female saints on either side-wing.

The "Adoration of the Magi" by the master of the "Heilige Sippe" forms a very welcome addition to the German section of the Metro-

politan Museum, it originates from a collection of world-wide fame and has been duly appreciated by art critics as a fine and highly characteristic picture by one of the most interesting artists of the Cologne School.

During the reign of the art-loving King Louis I of Bavaria, the galleries of that country were much enriched by excellent works of Italian, Flemish and German quattro — and cinquecentists. Pictures by Filippo and Filippino Lippi, Botticelli, Ghirlandajo, Raphael (Madonna Tempi and Madonna della Tenda), by old Flemish and German masters were purchased. The "Adoration of the Magi" now in the possession of the Metropolitan Museum, as well as many other paintings of the highest value belonged to the Boisserée Collection, which passed into the possession of King Louis I in 1827. It contained more than two hundred exquisite pictures by old Flemish and German masters and bore testimony to the consummate taste of the collectors, Sulpice and Melchior Boisserée. These highly gifted and many-sided brothers, experts in the true sense of the word, are the heroes of a scholarly book by E. Firmenich-Richarts,<sup>1</sup> intended by the author to be the introductory volume of a work on the Boisserée Collection, which his untimely death unfortunately prevented him from completing.

It has been often observed that "apart from the south, the shores of the Rhine offered the most fertile soil for artistic creation," and that "the crossing of romanesque and teutonic races effected there, under singularly auspicious circumstances, called into being a new and lovable type of men."

Cologne was the centre of a school of painters founded as early as the fourteenth century by Master William Herle. The beautiful altarpiece now in Cologne Cathedral, but originally in the Church of St. Clara, shows how nobly the old traditions were upheld. In the first decade of the fifteenth century Stephen Lochner, of sweet and poetic memory, lived and worked at Cologne, he was the painter whose famous altarpiece representing the three magi, no less a person than Albert Dürer thought worth mentioning in the diary he wrote on his journey from Nurnberg to the Netherlands in 1520.

In the course of the fifteenth century a succession of painters arose in Cologne, whose artistic personalities are clearly outlined even now,

<sup>1</sup> Eduard Firmenich-Richarts. *Die Bৌder Boisserée (Sulpice und Melchior Boisserée als Kunstsammler)*. Eugen Diederichs. Tena, 1916.





MASTER OF THE "HOLY KIN": THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI  
*The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*



although their names have long been forgotten. In the "History of Painting" they are designated by the names of their chief works. The first of them in time is the "Master of the Legend of St. George," so called from his pictures in the Museum of Cologne. In the same collection we see the "Glorification of the Virgin," which provided a second painter with a name. Yet another artist is called the master of the "Marienleben" after a series of eight pictures with scenes from the life of the Holy Virgin, seven of which are in the "Alte Pinakothek" in Munich, only one being in London.

A goodly company of famous anonymous painters follows. There is "The Master of St. Bartholomew," who has his name from the middle picture of an altarpiece in the Pinakothek at Munich.<sup>2</sup> Then the "Master of St. Severin," whose greatest work hangs above the Altar of St. Severin in Cologne. The highly original pupil of the latter has been christened "The Master of the Legend of St. Ursula," after the picture he painted for the parsonage of St. Ursula in Cologne, this work carries us on to the year 1515.

All these nameless painters form a strong contrast to their predecessor, the tender and poetic Stephen Lochner, through the distinctly realistic tendency of their art, which may be traced back to Rogier van der Weyden, the teacher, direct or indirect of the "Master of the Legend of St. George."

"A short time before the 'Master of the Legend of St. George' painted his great work" (1490), says Aldenhoven,<sup>3</sup> "an artist came to Cologne, whom we call in default of a better name, 'The Master of the Glorification of the Virgin.' He probably lived and worked there up to 1480. As early as 1463 'The Master of the Life of the Virgin' owned a renowned workshop in the same city. His paintings are strongly influenced by Dierick Bouts of Louvain. For some time the eight pictures describing the Passion of our Lord, commonly called the 'Lyversberger Passion' (from the former proprietor), were wrongly ascribed to him, and he was therefore called alternately 'The Master of the Life of the Virgin' and 'The Master of the Lyversberg Passion.' Recent researches have, however, proved beyond challenge, that a far more original contemporary of the 'Master of the Life of the Virgin' created the Passion, and that his name was Tohann von Düren."

<sup>2</sup> This same artist is sometimes designated as "The Master of St. Thomas" after his Triptych in the Cologne Museum.

<sup>3</sup> Carl Aldenhoven. *Geschichte der Kölner Malerschule*. Lübeck, 1902.



We again quote from Aldenhoven. "In the eighties of the fifteenth century a painter rose to fame who had passed his apprenticeship in the workshop of the 'Master of the Glorification of the Virgin,' perhaps his name was Heinrich von Aachen, and perhaps he was the son of Goedard Butgen von Aachen." For us he is the Master of the "Heilige Sippe." The period of his creative work seems to extend to about 1520.<sup>4</sup> His altarpiece at Cologne is said to have been painted approximately in the year 1518 (Merlo, *Familie Hackenay*, page 70). The picture representing the Mass of St. Gregory in the Archbishop's palace at Utrecht bears the date of 1486. When grouping the artist's works, which are scattered in different collections,<sup>5</sup> the critics generally start from this picture and conclude with his chief work the "Heilige Sippe" (Holy Kin) painted 1518, originally from the private chapel of the Hackenay family of Cologne.

The beauty of the master's earlier pictures is somewhat marred by heavy brown tints, whereas the works of his maturity display the pure translucent colours of old Flemish painters. The subject of the "Adoration of the Magi" treated on the picture belonging to the Metropolitan Museum has been chosen by the master more than once. We see it in Paris on a picture of the Dollfuss Collection, at Valkenburg near Maestricht, on one of the two pictures in the Jesuit College which were originally the wings of the Crucifixion in the Brussels Museum,<sup>6</sup> on a painting, now the property of the Reichsfreiherr von Landsberg at Velen in Westphalia, and on one of the beautiful stained glass windows in the north aisle of the Cologne Cathedral.<sup>7</sup>

The Dollfus picture shows a decided remembrance to the Altarpiece of the Cathedral, the Durie Child being almost a repetition. The Valkenburg Adoration is an original composition that has served once more for the Velen picture. As Aldenhoven pointed out, the artist in the last-mentioned picture took van Eyck's "Man with the Pink" (Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum) for his model, and gave the same features, though much younger, to the third king in the New York picture, the one attired in rich brocade.

<sup>4</sup> Ludwig Scheibler. *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*. VIII (1884), page 57. The "Katalog der Alten Pinakothek in München" (1922) states the artist to have worked from about 1480 to about 1510.

<sup>5</sup> A repetition of this triptych, the left wing of which is the "Adoration of the Magi," is now at Vallendar near Ehrenbreitstein.

<sup>6</sup> There is also a panel with two Saints in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (No. 167).

<sup>7</sup> Scheibler in the work quoted above, p. 57, mentions two wing pictures belonging to Dr. W. Virnich at Bonn, one of them being the "Adoration of the Magi."



MASTER OF THE "HOLY KIN": THE HOLY TRINITY  
*The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*





The composition of the panel (119 x 86 cm.) in the Metropolitan Museum is perfectly balanced, focussing the attention of the beholder on the chief figures, especially the sweet-faced Madonna. The heads of the three kings are strongly individualized, the main group is rounded off by the attendants of the kings, bearing fluttering banners, and the dainty angels, so demure in their long, loose robes, hovering lovingly above the Holy Mother. The picture is closed in at the left by a town with many spires and turrets, at the right by the steep slopes of a hill. A golden background replaces the sky.

On the back of the panel, which probably formed the left wing of an altarpiece, we see a representation of the Holy Trinity. A canopied, Gothic throne with a brocaded back takes up the greatest part of the picture, angels draw back a green curtain right and left, thus disclosing God Almighty, clasping the inanimate body of His Son, behind whose thorn-encircled brow the white dove is visible. The Holy Father is clad in a rich mantle, His mighty head is crowned and mitered. Our Saviour's nude body is almost painfully realistic. The eight angels, four on either side, are grouped vertically from the tiled floor upward to the canopy, giving the effect of living pillars. The lady-donator, kneeling in the foreground to the right of the throne, is folding her hands in prayer.

This grandiose composition, the central group of which is so plastic as almost to make the impression of a polychrome sculpture, shows subtle differentiation of values, especially in the treatment of the angels.

What rare combination of artistic qualities makes us linger before this picture? Its total effect is certainly monumental, yet every detail is worked out with the loving care of the early Gothic masters. But even this is not all: only life appeals to life, soul to soul — and here we feel as living breath, the calm, firm faith, the deep religious fervour of the middle ages.

Budapest.

## DAVID

By JAN-TOPASS

THE French Revolution did more than overthrow the throne and decapitate society. It changed the whole aspect of life, transformed the quality of æsthetic appreciation of the sense of beauty, and the earlier concepts of art, its aims, and in some measure its forms were overthrown.

Just as the male and gilded pomp of the seventeenth century gave place after the eclipse of the "Roi Soleil" to the feminine charm of the Rococo; so the voluptuous grace of the eighteenth century with its fragile suppleness, coquettish flexibility and undulant line wedded to a delicately blooming color perished in its turn with the easy morals, with the "sport and laughter," with those thousands of giddy heads that fell beneath the knife on the Place de la Revolution.

The chubby cherubs of Francois Boucher;<sup>1</sup> the semi-nudities, rose and pearl of his pupil, Fragonard;<sup>2</sup> Lancret's gallant, somewhat licentious pastorals;<sup>3</sup> the indelicacies of Baudoin;<sup>4</sup> the pseudo-naïvetés of Greuze;<sup>5</sup> even Chardin's<sup>6</sup> bourgeois intimacies, decent, genial and modest as they were, and Jeurat's<sup>7</sup> light and fluid phantasy, his smiling humor that produced landscapes like opera settings and Madonnas and Venuses that had their inspiration in the women of the stage, whose personages, male and female, were borrowed from the realm of faërie and from the Commedia dell 'arte; all that died forever. Dead, too, was the poesy of Diderot — superseded the ideas of the Encyclopedists and the easy morality of Jean Jacques Rousseau hardened to a strict puritanism. In the entire field of French activities — social, political, ethical and æsthetic — an impulse toward virtue was evidenced — a firm, stern, imperious, in a word a Roman virtue. Orators assumed the attitudes of Tribunes on the Sacred Hill. The *Senatus populusque romanus* became the model for the new régime. Busts of Brutus, Scipio and Seneca replaced those of the Kings and of the Saints. Those fierce

<sup>1</sup> Francois Boucher (1703-1770), author of canvases filled with a licentious grace.

<sup>2</sup> Jean-Honore Fragonard (1732-1806), painter and engraver of scenes of gallantry.

<sup>3</sup> Nicholas Lancret (1690-1743), painter of smiling and agreeable pictures.

<sup>4</sup> Pierre Antoine Baudoin (1723-1769).

<sup>5</sup> Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725-1805).

<sup>6</sup> Jean-Baptiste Simeon Chardin (1699-1779) excelled in genre paintings.

<sup>7</sup> Etienne Jeurat (1699-1789).

Translated by Alice M. Sharkey

avengers who "dipped their hands in the blood of tyrants"—the Athenian Harmodius, and his friend, Aristogiton, and the heroes of a sacrificial patriotism such as Mucius Scevola, Curtius and Leonidas were venerated and honored.

Of necessity, therefore, heroism came to be identified with beauty. Life took on an aspect of antiquity and art followed suit if indeed it was not the precursor in this new régime. Without doubt there exists between the two a reciprocal and parallel action, and Oscar Wilde seems to state a truth when he advances the apparent paradox that it is art which authenticates nature.

Be that as it may a republican genius animated the spoken word, the gesture and all creative effort. Quotations from Tacitus and Livy fell from pulpit and tribune in the guise of evangels. Talma roused public enthusiasm in the role of Corneille's "Horace," and David with his "Horaces" was hailed as a great master, portrayer of pure truth, master of pure beauty, prophet of the only true ideal, and became a public figure.

Strictly speaking the first notes were sounded by Vien<sup>8</sup> and by Regnault<sup>9</sup> one of David's pupils. But the one had little wit, technique or inspiration, and the other but mediocre gifts; the role of founder of a school therefore devolved upon David.

Louis David at first worked within the formulas of the moment. Gifted with a robust talent he displayed to begin with no more originality than his contemporaries. In 1775 he went to Italy in the company of his master, Vien, who had been made Director of the French Academy. In Rome he met a comrade, Peyron, who seduced by the works of Winckelmann, Lessing, Hamilton, Sulzer and Heyne, and enthralled by the recent excavations at Herculaneum and Pompeii had allied himself with several artists—among them Raphael Mengs and Pampeo Battoni in the study of the antique.

David once remarked "It was Peyron who opened my eyes," but in the meantime he was still rebellious towards the new ideal and but mildly moved by the chefs d'oeuvres of the Renaissance. "My intelligence," he averred, "had in it something Gallic and barbarous which had to be overcome before achieving that state of purity and erudition failing which one can but vaguely admire the achievement of Raphael, and would neither understand it nor know how to profit by it. Raphael

<sup>8</sup> Joseph-Marie Vien (1716-1809).

<sup>9</sup> Jean-Baptiste Regnault (1754-1829).



was much too delicate a food for my gross appetite."<sup>10</sup>

Much later still David turned to sculpture rather than to paintings for inspiration and profit. Opinionated and laborious he assiduously copied the sculptures in the round, the high and low reliefs in which the Eternal City abounds, to achieve, according to his own words, "the antique pure and simple." (Is not here an explanation of his essentially sculptural style?)

His first important canvas, painted in 1779, during the fourth year of his stay in Rome, "The Plague of St. Roch," is still a transition work where new currents are mingled with old habitudes. It marks the first evolution of an artist who was to pass through three or four phases. In 1781 after his return to Paris David exhibited his "Belisarius asking Alms," and in 1783 "Andromache Weeping over the Body of Hector." In these two canvases, however, he had not attained his full stature and the painting is still somewhat weak although the second shows a distinct advance.

His next canvas, "The Oath of the Brothers Horace," represents a culminating point in David's work and marks a date in the history of French art. Here the definite victory of a new tendency over an outworn formula is affirmed. The puritan genius of neo-classicism has overthrown the aristocratic spirit of the Rococo; the rectilinear stiffness of the classic manner has banished the sinuous arabesques of that playful style; the dramatic élan of the heart and a grave spiritual inspiration have defeated the intoxication of the senses. For, let there be no mistake, despite its apparent rigidity and almost mathematical severity this new Renaissance harbored a real passion in its depth. This is proved by David's own tempestuous career<sup>11</sup> and by the enthusiasm which it breathes in his art. For the rest his "The Brothers Horace" reveals him as an authentic master and a definite revolutionary.

Lineally speaking the composition presents a rectangular triangle and effects a difficult psychological accord between two groups widely sundered in sentiment. On the left in vertical lines the strained exaltation of the three brothers is depicted; on the right and horizontally the desolation, distress and anguish of the women and children. If in this canvas, perfect in so many respects, there be noticed a slight anachronism — and that no doubt voluntary — in the garments and weapons of the Brothers Horace which should belong to the period of Tullius

<sup>10</sup> Quoted in DeCluse's book, "Louis David, his School and his Times."

<sup>11</sup> David was alternately Painter to the King, Member of the Convention, and voting for the death of the King, premier painter at the Imperial court, and finally an exile at the time of the restoration.



DAVID: THE CORONATION OF NAPOLEON





Hostilius but are really those of Cæsar's time; emphasis should also be laid on the happy expedient by which David has created an impression of concentrated energy, of a sole and unique determination, through a calculated repetition in the attitudes and gestures of these brothers taking the oath of death or victory.<sup>12</sup>

He again made use of this invention in the "Oath of the Jeu de Paume" a vast canvas where in view of the numbers of figures involved this trick of composition might seem particularly dangerous. Here, too, the gesture is repeated almost identically. The massed figures of the deputies of the Third Estate stretch their hands towards Bailly who is reading the oath of allegiance, and again this reiteration of plastic effect instead of engendering monotony, as might well be feared, effects a strong and splendid rhythm.<sup>13</sup>

David's work abounds in daring and ingenious inventions. For instance, in this same canvas, despite its historical exactitude, ordered discipline and strict realism we perceive through an open window in the corner of the hall a piece of arbitrarily introduced symbolism — the Chapel Royal of Versailles struck by lightning.

None the less, innovator and revolutionary as he was, David could not altogether break away from the French tradition. He merely disowned the eighteenth century on principle and rejected it through sentiment. In some of his works his style resembles that of Poussin,<sup>14</sup> for instance, the "Death of Socrates," one of his finest paintings, as much in its composition as in the accuracy of the portrayal and the general spirit. But, let him touch for a moment a subject dear to the eighteenth century and the antagonism between his talent and that caressing art, compact of smiles and sighs, becomes at once apparent. Graceful painting — the distinguishing trait of that period — is decidedly not his forte, as witness "The loves of Paris and Helen."<sup>15</sup> Essentially epic in spirit, lyricism is foreign to his nature. Sombre, severe, austere, he is not at home amid the merry wiles of Cupid.

His heart and brain were haunted by a vision of ancient Rome, by her grave heroism, and it was to this Roman drama that he turned

<sup>12</sup> This oath of opposition to the King and faith to the ideals of the constitution took place in the Hall of the Jeu de Paume, at Versailles, June 20, 1789.

<sup>13</sup> Through untoward circumstances this canvas was never completed, and only the preliminary design, perfectly finished, to be sure, is to be seen. It was exhibited in this state in the Salon in 1791, and is at present in the Louvre in the section devoted to drawings.

<sup>14</sup> Nicholas Poussin (1594-1665).

<sup>15</sup> This painting was a commission from the Count d'Artois, father of Louis XVI, given in the year 1788.

again and again for his favorite themes. In 1789 he painted "Lictors bringing to Brutus the body of his Son," and ten years later, in 1799, "The Sabine Women." In this last work David's archaic spirit goes back even further. In the "Brothers Horace" he was Roman, here he strives to be Greek. The composition of the Sabine Women is "as deliberately balanced and symmetrical as the plan of a fine tragedy"<sup>16</sup> as were his earlier works, but the coloring is infinitely gayer, the modeling supple, and the forms have an elegance hitherto lacking in David's work.

After this painting, one of his most remarkable, David painted "Bonaparte Scaling Mount St. Bernhard." In depicting the conqueror "calm on a fiery steed" he endeavored to symbolize his dual nature—his ardor and impetuosity combined with impassivity.

David's next canvas and incontestably his masterpiece is "The Coronation of Napoleon." Executed in the grand manner, peculiarly vital, ceremonious, but in no wise over emphasized, it everywhere touches perfection. The composition is vertical and divided into seven groups alternately luminous and sombre. The rare and scientific *chiaroscuro*, the portrayal of the solemn, dignified yet strangely realistic figures and the masterly technique of this canvas are worthy of the finest epochs in the history of art.

"The Distribution of the Eagles" which succeeds it chronologically is in our opinion much weaker both in conception and execution—too many Olympian Gods dragging their scabbards and jingling their spurs—too much stiffness—too many accessories. David's last historical painting, "Leonidas," begun in 1800 and finished in 1814 is still less important and marks the period of his decline.

One is tempted to believe that the genius of David is intertwined with the destinies of the revolution. He made his first appearance during its prologue, in royalty's bitterest hour, progressed and developed throughout its turmoil and reached his zenith during its last act—which, too, was an apotheosis—the epopee of the Napoleonic era. His artistic temperament, human tendencies and political faiths fitted to a remarkable degree into the frame of this grave and pathetic era. Life at that moment, in the course of its events, in its form and in its poetry accorded perfectly with David's antique vision, with the Roman spirit of heroism which was his ideal, and offered to this vision, to this ideal a resting place and roots—a visible and tangible crystallization. Only

<sup>16</sup> A phrase of Theophile Gauthier's.



DAVID: M<sup>lle</sup>. CHARLOTTEE DU VAL D'OGNES  
*The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*





a reality of this particular type could have proved valid and desirable for David, the puritan devoid of voluptuousness, the frank revolutionary, the realist untinged with mysticism.

For David for all his antique background, his toga-robed figures, his manner of composition borrowed from classic art is above all a realist. His portraits prove that indubitably, be it the memorable likeness of Pope Pius the Seventh, so beautifully painted; or the striking simplicity of his Madame Recamier; the Deputy Gerard with his Children; the portrait of Barère de Vieuzac, the so-called "Anacreon of the Guillotine" with his glacial and venomous glance; or the self-portrait in which he has disdained every artifice of pose and trick of lighting that would have modified his misshapen cheek and twisted mouth. And is he not, above all, realist even naturalist in those other canvases which are really portraits: "The Death of Marat," "The Assassination of Lepelletier de Saint-Fargeau," "The Youthful Baras," which are so faithful, so pitiless in their veracity?<sup>17</sup> And what else was he in his famous dictum to his pupils, "Let us first be true — after that we can be beautiful." David was not only an artist and a great creative genius — he was the founder of a school. His atelier was thronged with pupils, and his influence felt throughout the art manifestations of his day — both in the fine and the applied arts. Everything was impregnated with his taste, his spirit and his doctrines. Nevertheless he forbore to exercise any restraint on his pupils during the period of their studies with him nor demanded any sacrifice of individuality. Gérard, Giradet-Trianon, Isabey, Granet, Léopold Robert, Drouais, Ingres, who were his pupils, retained their own particular physiognomy and kept their talent intact. So many names; so many styles; so many temperaments; so many different realizations.

And finally a word about the close of his career and the death of the man. Louis David, to whom we owe besides numerous beautiful canvases, a style, a discipline and a school of the utmost value, died an exile in Brussels,<sup>18</sup> where he was banished by the Restoration, on December 29, 1825, in his seventy-seventh year<sup>19</sup> far from his family, far from his country and far from his dream — for at the moment a royalty without grandeur; a beauty devoid of nobility, and customs lacking the heroic quality were again in the ascendant.

<sup>17</sup> Here is another aphorism confirming David's realistic tendencies. To become a good painter one must go from nature to the antique and the great masters — then back again to nature.

<sup>18</sup> The Law of Exile, of January 16, 1816, formulated by the government of Louis XVII.

<sup>19</sup> Louis David was born in Paris, August 31, 1748.

## TOULOUSE LAUTREC

BY HENRI HERTZ

**M**OST great artists sooner or later rebel against the conventions of their upbringing. Those whom we have already discussed here have all engaged in a struggle more or less long and arduous, but which invariably at a certain point involved their liberty and courage and forced them to an abrupt choice. Renoir and Degas suffered least in this respect. Manet and Van Gogh experienced cruel adjustments.

Where Toulouse Lautrec was concerned this phenomenon was particularly complex, but astonishingly harmonious and complete. His father was one of those swaggering country squires who are at once the admiration and the terror of the French countryside. A bon vivant of rabelaisian turn, sportsman, trencherman and braggart, he went accompanied by his dogs from one château to the other, of which he owned several in the Languedoc, a roisterer at once debonnair and violent.

The feudal spirit was revived in him though not in its sombre and militant form. He came from the south, from the Tarn, a country of artists and troubadours, whose traditions full of a caressing warmth combined with dignity led its nobles to dedicate their time and wealth as much to the cultivation of a gracious leisure as to fighting and violence. Avid of adventure though they might be, their faith was not apt to involve them in very distant or arduous crusades, and they particularly distinguished themselves in the wars with Italy, that country of the poet and artist. The re-taking of the Holy Sepulchre itself would have allured them less than the acquisition of a fine picture depicting the scene! An appreciation of art was native to them, and the father of Toulouse Lautrec, who was far from a commonplace individual, was no exception to this rule.

His vivid imagination was occupied incessantly with visions of one kind or another — some tending to farcical mystifications and practical jokes, others of a higher order leading him to seek in particular the association of artists. His preferences in this respect were quite naive. As is often the case this man of action — whose disconcerting impulses were never restrained by the conventions — to the consternation of his wife who lived in terror of his rashness, became on the plane of the intellect a quite humble-minded individual, although the mere fact of his risking himself there at all involved a degree of hardihood. He had an





THE OPERA "MESSALINA AT BORDEAUX"

BY TOULOUSE LAUTREC

*Collection of Mr. Adolph Lewisohn, New York*



enormous respect for certain painters whom his son later on was to hold in complete disdain, and was at ingenuous pains to secure these men for him as masters. Naturally they were speedily discarded by the son, for which, incidentally, the old count bore him no malice whatsoever.

When his son was born, November 24, 1864, the Count de Lautrec was absent on a hunting trip. Was he overjoyed at this event? We have no idea. The joys and pleasures of the common lot by no means sufficed this gentleman so celebrated for his eccentricities in local society. For the encampment, for instance, which he established in the great square at Albi at the height of the hunting season, to the delight of the yokels, who watched him coming and going gypsy-fashion surrounded by servants, dogs and hawks.

Perhaps the idea of a son in whom his follies might be prolonged and diversified touched his vanity. To amuse him, he dressed up as a Highlander, replacing the kilts by the skirts of a ballet girl. He went with him at night to gather "cêpes" holding a candle in one hand, a hat box in the other. In fact this son was to be a joyous comrade — that was his idea of the situation. He never dreamed but that, like himself, the boy would be robust, broad of shoulder, a lusty cavalier and the worthy heir of all his tastes.

This dream was destined soon to fade and the sight of his child to become touched with bitterness. Nature had placed no unsurmountable moral barrier between the two but she interposed a physical one. The young Toulouse Lautrec was sickly. By an unfortunate mischance, two successive accidents in which his leg was broken practically crippled him, and he took on the aspect of infirmity. With inherited cynicism he was wont in self-mockery to compare himself to a teapot because of his rounded back, and to a crab on account of his walk.

The unexpected consequence of this physical mischance was the sudden and violent transference to a preoccupation with art of all those instincts and impulses common to both father and son, and which otherwise would doubtless have found their outlet in a congenial companionship.

This lad constrained to a sedentary life, adoring horses and longing to ride, but able only to satisfy this longing by drawing and painting them, and his roistering father, constantly in the saddle, grew very far apart. They discovered, however, in art a secret meeting-ground where the son brought many things in which he resembled his father, and the father recognized traits which endeared his son to him.



This peculiar situation merits insistence for it is constantly reflected in the fertile, crude and bitter work of Toulouse Lautrec, and it is for this reason that contrary to the usual case it is not superfluous to dwell upon the character of the father in order to better understand the art of the son.

This relationship, at once constant and unnatural, profoundly real, although harsh, the cordial disagreement, if one may so phrase it, of this father and son assumed from the very first an almost comical aspect and involved them in a species of "hide and seek."

Henri de Toulouse Lautrec's mother took him to Paris to study art, since this seemed obviously his destiny. His father made the choice of his masters, and there followed a succession of highly significant acts of acquiescence and rebellion.

The young "monster" at first settled down in docile enough fashion, in accordance with his father's advice, in the studio of René Princeteau. This he was not unwilling to do, as Princeteau and J. Lewis Brown, whom he met there, were both painters of horses, for which he had a passion. With similar docility he passed from Princeteau's studio to Bonnat's, and from there to Cormon's. At a distance one is surprised at the nonchalant good nature with which this acrid and disgruntled gentleman passed through these various schools of wisdom, evincing to be sure some impatience and under a continual necessity of change.

Henri de Toulouse Lautrec learned there exactly what it pleased him to learn, that is to say a certain rigor of construction and a tradition of composition from which he never wavered. It must, moreover, be stated that had the pupils in these studios resembled the masters he would very quickly have shaken their dust from his feet. It so happened, however, that at this period these cold ateliers, dedicated apparently to the perpetuation of facsimilies, were filled with rebels. One only studied the "good," according to the scholastic ideal, in order to fortify oneself in the ideas of revolt. At Cormon's Toulouse Lautrec was a fellow student of Van Gogh's, which is both curious and reassuring, and other less illustrious comrades who proved congenial to his mocking spirit — Ganzi, Claudon, Grenier and Augustin — paid little more attention than he did to Cormon's teachings, but never wearied in their enthusiastic discussions of Degas and Renoir, those great intermediaries through whom they were to discover their real masters, Velasquez, Goya and the Japanese.

This dual apprenticeship, outwardly docile, but undisciplined and

capricious behind the screen, culminated about 1885 in a respectful emancipation of a most original nature.

Just as the father was wont to descend, glass in hand, on the towns and villages of the countryside, for the pleasure of shining there, and imposing his inherited sovereignty of birth, heart and wit ; so the son in his turn threw himself into that aspect of Parisian life which was most lenient both toward his physical disabilities and his violent and dislocated temperament. He became Montmartre's great Lord from the Languedoc, and it was there he reigned, condescendingly plebian and genially aristocratic, combining a Don Quixote-like hauteur with the innocent hypocrisy of a Sancho Panza, at once the knight and the servitor of his own soul — as was his father — but adding thereto that stormy and judicial lustre which his concentrated, bitter, and vengeful genius shed on the wildest follies.

From then on Montmartre became his fief, and he seldom left it. He became a habitué of the Moulin Rouge, the Rat Mort, the Moulin de la Galette, the Souris, and the Hanneton, of the Clou du Mirliton, the Elysée Montmartre and the Divan Japonais. In all these resorts he was received on a footing of equality which was not without its admixture of homage. This was the heroic epoch, the golden age of Montmartre.

Its dance halls glittered like the steeples around his native Albi and he entered them as a master sure of his ground. Each one had its particular hero, and he got on splendidly with heros: Demi-Siphon, Muguet, La Limmonière, La Goulue, La Mélinite, Valentin le Désossé were his friends, and J. Oller, the Director of the Moulin Rouge became his confidant.

The fact that his intelligence exercised a complete sovereignty over the smallest recesses of this queer and perverse section of Paris filled him with a species of malign satisfaction. He traversed his kingdom unremittingly, going from ball to bar, from the Hérisson d'Or to the Bar des Lutteurs where he fraternized with Raoul le Boucher and Laurent le Beaucarois ; and to Achille's, the rendezvous of the jockeys. From the bars he passed on to private resorts. Tristan Bernard prevailed on him to enlarge the boundaries of his excursions a little, and introduced him to the world of the Buffalo Velodrome, where he at once formed a friendship with Zimmerman and Michael, two famous riders of the day. For fifteen years he was a part of the night life of Montmartre, lancing there the mordant sallies of his wit, hunting his

game everywhere, at the gates of prisons, in the haunts of pleasure and of misery, dealing out justice at the foot of some stage column, and applauding there the "chaheet," a sort of can-can in vogue at the moment.

His lodgings were not far from the theater of his observations and of his escapades. He was not one of those aristocrats who, living in the exclusive quarter, descend to plunge dilettante-fashion into the world of the circus and the music halls. He lived on the spot, he was one with the people of his visions.

From 1887 to 1899 when he was taken to a private hospital at St. James he gravitated between the Rue Fontaine, the Rue Tourlaque and the Avenue Frochot. Each one of these haunts represented for him a certain notoriety just as did his father's. The cocktails he prepared in the Rue Tourlaque in the company of Felix Fenelon, Tristan Bernard, Romain Coolus, Francis Jourdain were characteristic, and the famous dinner at the Kangaroo, consisting of a lamb tricked out with the tail of an ox, was long a subject of gossip.

Father Forest's garden, made famous by him, was his main workshop. It was there that all his Montmartre friends came to him to be painted. This garden which partook both of the jungle and the tavern was his headquarters, the scene of his pursuits and of his conquests. His savage art unfolded itself there and it became the birthplace of his finest work.

If I go into so much detail it is not, as you will readily realize, from a mere delight in the picturesque, or simply to describe an environment and evoke a group of people who, in absorbing the life of this physically shattered aristocrat, risked at least the appearance of having destroyed his soul. It is rather because each incident, each encounter, each more or less equivocal relationship of this *déclassé* existence branded his cruelly penetrating spirit as with iron, and awoke in him a sort of diabolical sensuality, tortured and jealous, which translated by the mastery of his tyrannical art, led him to immortalize this world in merciless guise as some infernal fairy tale.

When we compare the art of Toulouse Lautrec with that of other painters of the same period who were intrigued by the same subjects and gifted with the same species of pitiless observation, we quickly feel an essential difference. The fury with which a Degas or a Seurat threw himself into the study of the life of the crowded quarters, noting the professional deformities and moral corruption with which even its most



harmonious and joyous manifestations were stamped was always and almost exclusively the outcome of an insatiable appetite for form. It was for the joy of moulding and living material of these bodies, of dissecting and reconstructing them; it was in stripping from them the secret of their visible forms that their interest lay, and the impression created by their work may be summed up as one of purely artistic satisfaction.

With Toulouse Lautrec the obsession of suffering, of physical damnation is eternally present. There is in his works a nightmare of ridicule, a ferocious sense of perdition, of loss of caste, not through vice, not through abandon, but at the compulsion of a fatality, under the curse of a contagion and a plague as implacable as the law of Dante's *Inferno*.

This vision arose from a depth of clairvoyance, of pity and of terror that was personal to him and an essential part of his genius, and to which his instinct of an aristocrat was no stranger.

Leaning on the rails of bars, over the balconies at public balls, he loved to stigmatize the degradation of this mad, motley and wretched humanity, treasuring, on the other hand, the unexpected troves of heart and wit which consoled and avenged him. In its glorification of gambling and pleasure, of the vices which mock at the so-called decencies of life, a judgment and condemnation at one and the same time, Toulouse Lautrec's violent sarcasm struck to right and left constituting at once an epic and a satire. It is this quality which distinguished him from his contemporary impressionists, who, like him, cultivated the criminals and the dark places of Paris.

In the scroll of his achievement these words should be inscribed: His hand did not betray his soul, nor weaken it. Every accent of his line, his color and his composition testifies to the profound impulses of a heart attuned to struggle and havoc. In incessant manifestations his aristocratic art which, however, drew its sustenance from the populace, delineated its wan and haggard subjects in brusque fashion, by violent strokes of brush or pencil, which needed but a few subsequent decisive touches to lend the final distinction. In the long run, and at no sacrifice of suppleness or variety, this impetuous art was confined within certain definite formulas, defiant and vehement affirmations which at the moment of capturing the essence of figures, gestures or scenes, exaggerated and twisted them to secure a more haggard, delirious, cynical and distorted effect, a more criminal and miserable appearance, as

though permeated by folly, lewdness and remorse.

In my opinion, among all the manifestations of modern painting, the art of Toulouse Lautrec is penetrated with a purpose and imagination which brings it notably into a close relation with the art of the old masters of Cologne. It seems to breathe some strange spirit of the Last Judgment. His paintings lay Parisian life bare, lash and persecute it. Beneath their garments his men and women in whom life is an exasperation — though their profession is to render it more gay — are naked and wan-like sinners harassed by encircling demons. And in these confused and indivisible scenes there stray sometimes over the guilty faces of the participants angelic smiles — reflections from Paradise.

And so this great artist in whom a feeling for the superb warred with his sense of precision and exactitude, urged by the complex currents of his race, his nature and his infirmity unrolled before our eyes from 1881 to 1889, without any system and at the whim of a luxuriant and fantastic imagination, a kind of demoniacal fresco of the life of Paris at play, a richly varied achievement touching all the most illustrious contemporary work, but holding itself tragically aloof from any kindness or benevolence to be found there. Portraits, intimate scenes, scenes from the theater were piled up with an ever-increasing verve. It is, moreover, in no wise an exclusive or a specialized art. To limit himself to a speciality would have been repugnant to the temperament of Toulouse Lautrec. He painted other portraits than those of the habitués of the Moulin Rouge and the Moulin de la Galette, and he painted other scenes. But his constant absorption in this atmosphere of excitement and misery is reflected in his vision of more conservative scenes and people. The trouble of this equivocal world seems to have invested him with a species of incisive fierceness.

Let us glimpse this profusion in enumerating some of his principal canvases: In 1881, *The Hawk*; in 1884, *The Theater*; in 1888, *Girl in the White Bodice*; in 1889, exhibited at the Independents, *The Ball at the Moulin de la Galette*, *The Englishman at the Havre*; in 1890 *Valentin le Désossée Instructing the Newcomers*, *Melle Dilhan at the Piano*; in 1891, *An Operation by Péan*, *Gabrielle the Dancer*, *Girl with Fur*, *Old Man in a Blouse*, *Woman with a Dog*, *Furnished*, *Truc for Live*; in 1892, *La Goulue and her Sister*, *La Goulue's Entrance*, *La Goulue resting between Dances*, *Woman with a Comb*; in 1893, *Jane Avril, the Moulin de la Galette*; in 1894, *Alfred la Guigne*; in 1895, *Decoration for La Goulue's Booth*, *Female Clown*, *Woman Resting*,



Valentin and La Goulue; in 1897, *Woman Crouching*, *Women at Play*, *Nude in Front of Mirror*, *White and Black*, *The Cage*; in 1898, *The Singing Lesson*, *Round the Table at Mme. Natanson's*; in 1899, *At the Races*, *In the Private Room*; in 1900, *Messalina at Bordeaux*, *The Toilet*, *Child with Dog*; in 1901, the year of his death, *An Examination at the Faculty of Medicine*. Each one of these paintings was the pivot for an abundant production which multiplies it in replicas or variants. There are moreover portraits which may be grouped around these same canvases of which at least forty are celebrated. One may mention those of Madame Natanson, Madame Pascal, Melle Dilhan, Dr. Bourges, M. Boileau, Van Gogh, Louis Pascal, Henri Manuel, Maxime de Thomas, of his mother, of Emile Davout on board his Yacht, of Delaports, Leclercq, Andre Rivoire, Madame Korsikoff, of Madame de Lauradon, Louis Bougle, May Milton, etc., etc.

And in addition to these important works any number of posters, drawings, sketches and lithographs of which Durand Ruel gave an exhibition in 1894.

Henri de Toulouse Lautrec cared much less for travel than did the painters to whom he was akin. He was bound by a sort of diabolical attachment to that corner of Paris with which he exchanged such terrible shocks of love and repulsion and from which the lightning flashes of his work streamed out. Other artists were prone to live and paint in the suburbs but he spent little time there. He went, however, to Villiers sur Morin where he made a portrait of Grenier and to Étrepagny where he shot crows with Anquetin.

Maxime de Thomas induced him to go further afield. He went to England, Belgium, Holland and Spain, but the only outcome was a portrait of Romain Coolus, painted in the manner of Greco. He was to be seen also at Arachon, where he painted the harbour, at Dinard and at Granville where he went about dressed as a Captain of the merchant marine. He was, too, occasionally to be seen at Albi where he proved as astonishing and disquieting a figure as his father.

His last journey was to the Chateau of Malronné where he was taken after an attack of illness in 1901. He died there on the ninth of September and was buried at Verdélais.

This father and son who secretly and at heart had never abandoned each other were again united. Beside the bier of his son the old Count de Lautrec offered a spectacle worthy of the coulisses of the Fernando Circus or of the Moulin Rouge. He insisted that he would follow the



coffin on horseback, because he suffered from corns, or at any rate with bare feet, and he hurriedly shaved off his beard as a sign of mourning.

Tristan Bernard on hearing of the death of Henri de Toulouse Lautrec summed up these words, whose discreet allusiveness is charged with a tragic significance, the phantom-like earthly career of this great painter who peopled scenes of crudest realism with macabre and vivid spectres, "Lautrec is restored once more to the world of the supernatural."

## CORRESPONDENCE

My Dear Mr. Sherman:

The contention of Prof. Frank Jewett Mather, Jr., in the February issue of "Art in America" to the effect that the painting which he has christened "The Princeton Raphael" is at least in part the work of Raphael himself has so far as I know not been contradicted in any responsible quarter, and I feel therefore that any information dealing with its earlier history cannot fail to be of interest. Professor Mather has referred in appreciative terms to the notes which I had prepared on the picture, but in view of the greater importance which it has now attained it will not be inapposite for me to extend them.

This picture formed part of the Collection of Mr. Welbore Ellis Agar, which was purchased in 1806 by the second Earl Grosvenor (afterwards first Marquess of Westminster) in its entirety, thereby forestalling the auction sale at Christie's, which had been widely announced and had aroused European interest. The Earl paid thirty thousand guineas for about sixty pictures, which thus formed the nucleus of one of the finest Collections ever assembled in Europe. A special wing was added to Grosvenor House at about this period in order adequately to display the pictures. The Raphael remained in the Westminster Collection until about two years ago, when I acquired it, so that it had been exposed to the smoke and dirt of the London atmosphere for considerably over a hundred years — apparently without ever having been cleaned. There was, however, evidence that it had been tampered with, most probably during the eighteenth century, as it was covered in parts with bituminous restoration — notably over the Virgin's cloak — which in some places was fully half a millimetre in thickness. One can never authorize the removal of such a thick coating without certain trepidation, especially when dealing with a panel over four hundred years old, as there is the danger that nothing of importance will be found beneath, but fortunately in this case the original painting was revealed in almost all its pristine beauty. Although such changes are usually difficult to follow in photographs a comparison of the illustration accompanying Professor Mather's article with previously published reproductions, such as that in "Klassiker der Kunst," will indicate some idea of the great improvement which has been achieved by the recent cleaning. The picture has been referred to by most writers on Raphael, who have invariably passed it over as being one of several known copies of a lost original, but in estimating the value of these opinions it must be remembered that not one of the authorities in question had ever had an opportunity of examining the unadulterated original work.

I must join issue with Professor Mather when he states on page 78 that "the condition of the surface suggests that the figures and landscape were painted at a considerable interval of time." Apart from the difficulty of believing that an original interval of a few years could produce so perceptible a difference after a total lapse of over four centuries, the effects which Professor Mather has noted are susceptible to a totally different explanation. I have frequently noticed with old tapestries that although the dark or red parts may be in good condition the lighter portions are sometimes in shreds or show signs of restoration. This is because the ultra-



violet rays from the sun are completely absorbed by dark or red pigments, while most light-coloured pigments allow them to pass through, eventually destroying the fabric. A piece of linen held near a Westinghouse Cooper Hewitt Mercury Vapour Lamp for half an hour can be torn almost like tissue paper — if it be painted white the result is about the same, but if it be covered with a suitable black or red varnish the material retains most of its original strength. I have had occasion to deal with this problem elsewhere, though in a totally different connection. (vide Reports and Memoranda of the Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, No. 329, April, 1917, and No. 514, August, 1917, "On Protective Varnishes for use on Aeroplanes in Hot Climates," by Ramsbottom and Newton, published by His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1919.) Evidently the same process has been going slowly on with our Raphael — consequently the cracks in the landscape are deeper than those in the figures. Moreover, the presence over a long period of the bituminous coating, which was limited to the figures, would further have protected them in comparison with the landscape.

ARTHUR ULYSSES NEWTON.



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